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Southeast Asia Report

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PHILIPPINES

PEOPLE'S PARTY CALLS FOR ARREST OF COUP PLOTTERS

HK071341 Manila Radio Veritas in Tagalog 1000 GMT 7 Nov 86

[Text] RV Balita [Radio Veritas News] learned that Joma Sison [Jose Maria Sison] has been away from the country for several days now, and according to information, he is reportedly in Japan for a number of speaking engagements and luncheons. Meanwhile, the Partido ng Bayan [People's Party] issued a statement in response to Victor Corpuz' revelations.

[Begin recording in English by unidentified female voice] [passage indistinct] Enrile has been blaming the communists for the recent bombings in Metro Manila. But the Capcom [Capital command] has already pinpointed Alex Villalon and other Marcos loyalists to be behind these bombings. And yet there seems to be an insistence in (the pursuit of the bombing spree) and blame it on the communists. The leaking to the press of Victor Corpuz' letter and the bombing of Shoemart Cinemas the previous night, where 16 people have been hurt, are obviously the means of the military to [words indistinct]. All these developments are ominous considering especially that the AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] Chief of Staff General Fidel Ramos has already admitted that there are indeed top military officers plotting to take over the present government. We call on President Aquino to deal decisively against these plotters and have them immediately arrested. We call on the people to be vigilant and that people's power act now against these scheme. [end recording]

/9274
CSO: 4211/8

BRIEFS

'MILITANT FARMERS' BACK ENRILE--Militant farmers have expressed their support for Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile's anticommunist stand. Leaders of the Federation of Free Farmers [FFF] said that the first victims of communism would be the farmers. FFF President Jeremias Montemayor said that under a communist government, land belonging to the farmers would end up owned by the state. He urged the government to support Enrile's stand instead of opposing him. [Text] [Quezon City Radyo ng Bayan in Tagalog 0300 GMT 29 Oct 86 HK] /9274

CSO: 4211/8

NONG KHAI GOVERNOR UPBEAT ON LAOS TIES

Bangkok BAN MUANG in Thai 16 Oct 86 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Preparations Being Made To Improve Thai-Lao Relations, Different Systems No Obstacle"]

[Text] Mr Santi Manikan, the governor of Nong Khai Province, talked about relations between Thailand and Laos. He said that the government and people of Thailand hope that relations can be improved. Even though the two countries now have problems at the govenment level, at the local level, Nong Khai Province is trying to satisfy this wish and help improve relations.

The governor of Nong Khai Province said that today, people are visiting each other, and sports events are being held in order to build friendly relations. There are traditional boat races and trips to important religious temples in both Thailand and Laos.

"At present, Nong Khai Province is prepared to hold negotiations with Lao officials at the local level, that is, beteween Nong Khai and Vientiane. We are ready to discuss all the problems," said Mr Santi. He added that even though the two countries have different administrative systems, that is not an important obstacle. The peoples of Thailand and Laos should start associating with each other. The peoples of these two countries can't be kept separate, because they share a common ethnic, religious, and cultural background, traditions and customs are the same, and social development has proceeded from the same roots.

Mr Santi said that in the near future, trade between Thailand and Laos will be expanded, which will lead to increased travel between the two countries. Nong Khai Province will do everything it can to facilitate this. But there must be an agreement in order to prevent illegal activities, such as smuggling.

11943
CSO: 4207/42

THAILAND

EDITORIAL SEES INTERESTS HURT BY INFLEXIBILITY ON SRV, PRK

Bangkok KHAO PHISET in Thai 13-19 Oct 86 p 7

[Editorial: "A New Attitude on the Part of Vietnam? Related to the Broadening of Thailand's Foreign Policy"]

[Excerpt] Relations between China and the Soviet Union are improving, Polish leaders visited China, and Chinese leaders are scheduled to make an official visit to Poland. These things will put pressure on Vietnam to change its attitude on certain matters. Besides this, Vietnam is experiencing serious economic problems. It is believed that even if "decision-making power" in Vietnam remains in the hands of the "same group of people," Vietnam's internal situation and the political policy changes outside will force Vietnam to take a "new attitude" at its coming congress.

Any changes in Vietnam will undoubtedly affect Thailand in its position as a close neighbor and possible enemy of Vietnam. There are conflicts between the two countries that have not been resolved. We have long criticized Thailand's "inflexible" and "slanted" diplomatic policy. Recently, there have been indications that this attitude has begun to soften. In particular, now that he has been elected MP, it seems that Air Chief Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila, the minister of foreign affairs, may be willing to show greater flexibility on certain issues.

Adhering to the old bureaucratic type of foreign policy and the old "limitations" at a time when the situation abroad is changing will have a negative effect. Even though Thailand's "standpoint" on Indochina is based on certain praiseworthy principles, the inability to make adjustments or take a new attitude in accord with the changes in the world situation is clearly a weakness. If we have a narrow diplomatic viewpoint, Thailand's foreign strategy will be a defensive rather than offensive strategy.

Actually, at a time when the political situation in this region is changing, if Thailand "opens up" more, the changes that are taking place in Vietnam might turn out to be positive changes from Thailand's standpoint.

11943
CSO: 4207/32

THAILAND

PRK, SRV WANT LOCAL TRADE, ARMS IN 'REFUGEE' CAMP NOTED

Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 9 Oct 86 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Vietnamese Soldiers Ask To Open Border Trade, Crop Yields in Cambodia Are Poor"]

[Text] Prachinburi Province: A reporter in Aranyaprathet reported that he had visited the border near Ban Khlong Nam Sai in Khlong Nam Sai Subdistrict, Aranyaprathet District, Prachinburi Province, in order to observe Vietnamese troop movements. There had been floods in that area for several days. He wanted to see how the Vietnamese soldiers were coping. He learned that the 12 Vietnamose soldiers there had to stay on a large termite hill.

While the reporter was watching, Vietnamese soldiers crossed the Khlong Nam Sai Creek and then shouted to him to come and talk. The reporter couldn't speak the Vietnamese language. All he could speak was Thai and some Cambodian. The Vietnamese soldiers then asked him if he could speak Lao. The reporter replied, "a little." In Lao, the Vietnamese soldiers said that the Heng Samrin faction wants to engage in trade with Thai people at Poi Pet as soon as possible. Because crop yields in Cambodia have been poor and there have been large losses. They said that senior Heng Samrin military units will soon travel to the border area in order to ask that the two sides open trade negotiations. The Vietnamese have timber, dried fish, para rubber, oranges, precious stones, and Ankor Wat stone carvings. They want to buy rice, foodstuffs, and medicines from Thailand.

Mr Tuak, a Heng Samrin soldier, told the reporter that he had received an order from his superiors about this. Thus, he told the reporter. Most of the Heng Samrin soldiers stationed along the border here can speak Lao very well. That is because these soldiers were stationed in Laos for up to 3 years.

Recently, Police Maj Withaya Ketuson, the inspector for investigation at the Prachinburi provincial police station in Aranyaprathet District, and another 10 policemen set an ambush for people suspected of carrying weapons. It had been learned that people were planning to take weapons out of the Sai 2

Cambodian camp in Taphraya District. The police searched Mr Phairat Chatkhiri, Mr Tim Wongkun, and Mr Wanna Koetwongkun and two Cambodians named Mr Kim Saem and Mr Tutcha, who live at Ban Tun, Village 4, Ban Mai Nong Thai Subdistrict. The police found a Red Chinese 7.62 mm pistol, a magazine holding 14 rounds of 38-caliber ammunition, and an M-20 grenade. The suspects were taken for interrogation. They have frequently gone in and out of the Sai 2 refugee camp.

11943
CSO: 4207/34

THAILAND

THAI POLICE CLASH WITH BURMESE COMMUNISTS 9 OCTOBER

BK101439 Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 10 Nov 86 p 3

[Text] Kriangsak Chantharakhit, chief officer of the Mae Chaem District of Chiang Mai Province, informed SIAM RAT that at about 1500 on 9 October, a Border Patrol Police team clashed with four armed men in Tambon Mae Chan, some 2 km from Mae Chan Village. The four men fired about four or five rounds of ammunition at the police team before fleeing the scene. The defense unit of Tambon Mae Chan was later dispatched to clear the area and clashed with them for about 5 minutes.

Documents written in Burmese or the Karen language, food and medical supplies, maps of Thailand, camping equipment, handgrenades, ammunition, and photos of a number of people were found at the scene of [the] incident. The four men escaped by climbing down the 10-meter cliff. There was no sign that they had been injured.

At first, they were believed to be narcotics traffickers. However, the documents confiscated at the scene revealed that they were members of the Burma Communist Party, presumably couriers operating in the areas opposite Mae Sariang and Mae Le Noi Districts of Mae Hong Son Province. They were believed to have maintained contacts with Comrade Wai's communist group which is active in the common border area of Chiang Mai and Mae Hong Son Provinces and have been travelling back and forth between Burma and Thailand by using Bay Pang Ung route.

/9274
CSO: 4207/52

SPOKESMAN RESPONDS TO PHNOM PENH'S CHARGES

BK311232 Bangkok Voice of Free Asia in Thai 1030 GMT 31 Oct 86

[Text] In connection with the Phnom Penh regime's 27 October statement calling on Thailand to withdraw its forces from Hill 537 in Battambang District, northwest Cambodia, Sarot Chawanawirat, in his capacity as Foreign Ministry spokesman, has explained the following facts:

1. Thailand has always strictly respected and followed the UN Charter and international law. Thailand has never committed aggression against its neighbours. When it has territorial problems with neighboring countries, it resorts to friendly negotiations--witness the negotiations on border demarcation with Malaysia and Burma.

2. Thailand's sovereighty and territorial integrity, however, have been violated by Vietnamese troops on various occasions, resulting in the killing and wounding of large numbers of Thai officials and civilians. Moreover, property of the government and the people has also been damaged. For example, on 20 September Vietnamese troops seized the Hill 538 in Thai territory, about 2 km from the Thai-Cambodia border. Thai forces drove back the Vietnamese troops on 15 October.

3. The Heng Samrin regime's accusation against Thailand is aimed at drawing the attention of other countries so that they will accept the Heng Samrin regime. In point of fact, the regime is merely a puppet set up by Vietnam.

4. Perhaps the Heng Samrin regime's statement is prompted by instructions from the organizer of the puppet regime, which would contradict its pronouncements on various occasions that it wishes to promote cooperation with neighboring countries for peace and security in the region, and desires to negotiate with neighboring countries to settle regional problems peacefully.

/9274
CSO: 4207/52

THAILAND

WIRA, OTHER DEMOCRAT MP'S QUESTION PHICHAI ACTIONS

Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 2 Oct 86 pp 1, 2

[Excerpt] Mr Wira Musikaphong, the secretary general of the Democrat Party, was interviewed by reporters at parliament on the afternoon of 1 October. He was asked about his lunch with about 20 Democrat MPs. He said that he informed them of the explanation given by Mr Phichai Rattakun, the party leader. But these MPs are still concerned. They refuse to accept certain things. But if he reveals the specifics, he will be accused of leading the movement to topple the party leader. However, he will sound out the other 60 MPs during the next 2-3 days to see if they are satisfied.

Mr Wira said that he told the other MPs that the documents provided by Mr Phichai on receipts and expenditures were incomplete. For example, the party leader said that 14 million baht had been donated, but the documents accounted for only 6 million baht. It isn't known where the other 8 million baht came from. Mr Phichai refused to say. This has greatly upset the other MPs. The seven-man committee that has been established will have to hold another meeting in order to examine the documents.

Mr Narutchat Bunsuwan, a Democrat MP from Songkhla Province, talked with reporters at parliament on the evening of 1 October. He said that his group will submit a letter to the party executive committee next week asking that an extraordinary meeting be held in order to question Mr Phichai, the party leader. His group has already collected the signatures of more than 2,000 party members. Mr Thongchat Rattanawicha, an MP from Nakhon Sithammarat, will attend a party branch meeting in Nakhon Sithammarat and inform the party members there of the facts. A total of 5,000 signatures will be collected.

Mr Narutchat said that if Mr Phichai wants to explain things at the main meeting, he should bring documents. To clear up this matter, he must confess. Because under questioning by the seven-man committee, he confessed that he had "made a mistake." But he refused to tell the other six members where the 8 million baht had come from. He violated party regulations by putting donations into his own account. Also, he lied to the people when he said that he had sold his house.

Reporters talked with Mr Phichai Rattakun, the leader of the Democrat Party, at parliament that same evening before he returned home. They asked about the matter of being questioned by fellow party members. Mr Phichai said that he didn't know anything about that. The reporters asked whether he has made preparations to explain things at the meeting. Mr Phichai said that he did not want to answer that question.

11943
CSO: 4207/34

SPEAKER CHUAN ON ELECTED PM, DEMOCRAT TROUBLES

Bangkok KHAO PHISET in Thai 13-19 Oct 86 pp 11-17

[Interview with Chuan Likphai, the Speaker of the House and Deputy Leader of the Democrat Party, interviewer not identified; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] [Question] Now that you have been appointed speaker of the House, what do you plan to do to ensure that progress is made in carrying out the work of the House? Will there be any new developments?

[Answer] Administrative development is very important. I have established a work committee and invited outsiders, including politicians, to participate. Dr Surin Phitsuwan, my secretary, serves as the secretary at the meetings. This work committee is to summarize the things that we can do and should do. It is to report its conclusions, that is, actual possibilities, within 3 months. Actually, another work committee studied this once before. That committee, headed by Dr Chai-anan Samutwanit, produced a huge document. But we are interested only in the actual possibilities given our human resources and budget funds and the time that we have.

[Question] An effort is being made to revise the constitution to have the Speaker of the House serve as president of parliament. Do you think that this will pass?

[Answer] That depends on the vote by both houses. There must be a joint meeting. It won't be easy for this to pass each of the readings.

[Question] The issue of whether or not to have an elected prime minister is still a hot issue within the Democrat Party. What do you think will happen?

[Answer] No proposal has been submitted at a party meeting.

[Question] Initially, Mr Chalat Worachat and Mr Suphattra Matsadit were active on two issues, that is, the issue of the president of parliament and the issue of an elected prime minister. Why was one issue abandoned?

[Answer] The parties have different ideas. Those who made this proposal might have feared that proposing both might have caused problems. The Senate or some of the other parties might not have agreed. And I am not even certain whether all the members of the Democrat Party would have agreed.

[Question] But initially, the Democrat Party....

[Answer] Yes, the policy that was announced said that it should be like that.

[Question] In your view, should the prime minister be an elected official?

[Answer] I am not overly concerned about this. That is, I don't think that that is the major problem. The problem concerns the political parties or our members. This won't be a problem if the political parties can stop fighting and are ready to have an MP serve as prime minister. Thus, it's a matter of whether the politicians are ready. It's up to us.

[Question] In the future, do think there is any chance that a single political party will be able to form a government?

[Answer] That will be difficult. Given the conditions of this constitution, that would be very unnatural. But that is one thing that is forcing a reduction in the number of political parties. That is unnatural, in the sense that growth does not proceed naturally. I don't think that there is anything wrong with having three or four main parties. They can work separately or unite to form a government. There won't be unity. But the development of a party system takes time. It takes a long time. We began developing such a system relatively recently. We implemented such a system of administration only 54 years ago. But now, only 54 years later, we have an elected government. We need more time. The people haven't had a chance to become familiar with this system. The importance attached to people and institutions in this system is limited. But things have improved.

A very worrisome problem that has arisen today is the "use of money." This is a new problem. People haven't yet realized how serious this is. This is the weakness of this system. I don't know how much longer this will last. If the organizations responsible for providing protection can't operate efficiently, that is, if they can't punish those who have committed violations, parliament will be the preserve of the wealthy. The number of MPs who are really strong will decline.

[Question] It's said that if a person has 5 billion baht, he can buy parliament. What do you think?

[Answer] This is very worrisome. I have served in several administrations. I have seen what happens. It's very worrisome. Money is impartial. Good people whom we think are strong, 100,000 is nothing.... But if they are offered a car, they change immediately.

[Question] Are you afraid that "money" will change the direction of this system?

[Answer] By chance, this happened to be the worst time ever. We don't know what things will be like the next time. But if officials take resolute action on this, it will not be difficult to punish those people. We know how much it costs to put up three or four posters. There are no exceptions. No one works for free. Those are all expenses. I think that this is a problem that must be given attention. I don't want us to ignore this. Otherwise, knowledgeable and talented people won't dare get involved. They will be afraid of the financial power of others. And if it is financial power that determines things, those who have invested 20 million baht won't be satisfied just with recovering their 20 million baht. They will take more than that. This is very dangerous.

[Question] From what you have said, it seems that there is little chance that a single political party will be able to form a government or that we will have an elected prime minister. Is that just nonsense?

[Answer] It's not nonsense. But that's simply not possible for a single party. In the present situation, it would be very difficult even for two or three parties. I said that we can give three or four or even four or five parties a chance to join together when forming a government, and they can split apart later on. But the party system must be strong. It must be strong enough to have security with respect to policy. Party members can't change parties all the time. That tarnishes the image of politics. If things are like that, the party system in a democracy will have a bad image. It's not good if people switch parties all the time.

[Question] I would like to return to the matter of whether we should have an elected prime minister. What effect will this issue have on the country?

[Answer] Actually, common sense tells us that an elected prime minister should have a better understanding of what the people's problems are. But I think that what is important is that an elected official has only a limited period of time. If he does not do a good job, he will not be reelected. This is an incentive for that official to try and do a good job. Even if he is lazy or bored, he has to give attention to the problems of the villagers. That is a fact. I think that this is one of the purposes in having elections. But this will not always be true if, as I mentioned earlier, those who were elected used improper means to win votes. Those who buy votes may not know anything. Or they may have the same knowledge as appointed officials. It depends on the individual, too.

However, the system has to be like this. We can't make exceptions to allow particular individuals to violate the form of this system. Thus, we have to support the form of this system. That is, the prime minister must be an elected official. But it may not be necessary to legislate this. Sometimes, having too many laws goes against nature. That can sometimes prevent things from developing properly. For example, if the constitution legislates everything, that can be bad.

[Question] Let's talk about the Democrat Party. Recently, there has been much talk about whether this party has changed and whether it has stopped opposing dictatorship. As an old member of this party, do you think that the party has changed its position and line?

[Answer] The party's ideals remain the same. But the party's membership has changed. There are many new people in the party. The views of those who have entered the party have an influence on the party's line. But the question that must be asked is: What is happening in the party today that has caused people to wonder about the party's line? About all I can say is that this is an internal matter. There is a conflict within the party. This conflict did not start just recently. I have the feeling that things have been building up. Members are unhappy with the party leaders, and the party leaders are unhappy with the members. But this should not be blown out of proportion. People can still understand each other.

The problems grew worse after the election and the formation of this government. There are several problems. If I discuss the problems, that will affect people on both sides. And so I don't want to say anything here. All I will say is that most members, particularly those who joined the party just recently, are very concerned about these problems. And those who are worried the most are people like me. We were elected by the people. During the campaign, we relied on the reputation of the party to a certain extent. Many people in Bangkok and in the provinces supported the party. They worked hard on behalf of the party. But after the election was over, they got nothing from the party. But people in the party are destroying their confidence in the party. Some of these people may not be aware of this, because they don't know how large the people's forces are. They may not have undergone any hardships. But those like me have experienced hardships, as have the new members. Today, many of the new members are unhappy about what has happened. They are working to solve these problems as quickly as possible.

[Question] What is this conflict really about? Is the conflict over interests or does it concern the party's idological line and methods?

[Answer] I have an idea of what the conflict is about, but I don't want to say anything. That would just make things worse. We are trying to use reason. We can't expect everyone to agree with us. That is one thing. Second, everyone has unwholesome desires. But people must adhere to the principles and rules of the party.

[Question] Will the conflict end peacefully?

[Answer] I think so. Things still look all right. In particular, most party members and MPs don't really know the facts. For example, the new members who are dissatisfied with what has happened feel the same way as older members. They want the problems solved so that they can turn their attention to the problems of the people. They don't want this to be the party's image. That will be hurt them during the next election. This is what other members who don't agree have told me.

[Question] Is the attack on Mr Phichai Rattakun designed to topple him? Did this happen suddenly in response to a particular event or is this an organized movement?

[Answer] Such things happen all the time. Those who read the newspapers have probably followed the news. I don't want to say anything else (laughs).

[Question] Do you think that it will reach the point of holding a special meeting?

[Answer] No. It hasn't reached that point. I think that members have begun taking steps to settle the matter. The tension is declining. Most people want this problem solved. I have talked to people. They don't want the party publicly humiliated in the press every day like this. That is the view of most party members.

[Question] Then there probably won't be any changes in personnel, is that right?

[Answer] That is another matter. Changes can be made in accord with party principles. There is nothing wrong with that. But things should not be done in a way that disgraces the party.

[Question] As for the matter of cliques.... The Sato Samakhi group, for example, is viewed as having great influence in the party and is thought to be more loyal to Gen Prem than to the the party leader. In his recent inverview, Mr Phichai sounded rather bitter. What do you think about this?

[Answer] I would like to mention two separate things. First is the party line. The party's line must be adhered to. Regardless of which region they come from, party members must adhere to the party's line. Second, I want to say that those of us from the south all respect Gen Prem personally. For one thing, he is a very good person. Among former military officers who have held political positions, it is difficult to find anyone as good as Gen Prem. Another thing is that he has been very kind to all of us and treated us fairly. I am referring to how he has treated us. I don't mean that he has given us positions. We obtained these positions because of the party. It's not that he has special affection for me or for Minister Samphan, Minister Wira, or Minister Banyat and given us these positions. We were appointed to these positions based on the party's quota and the election results in the south. What I mean is that he treats us nicely. Thus, personally, we have great respect and affection for him. But when it comes to work, duty is duty. When we don't agree with something, we say so. We did not agree with granting him an extension. Party principles are party principles. Some party members may not always adhere to these principles when making speeches. I admit that. But those people have set conditions, too. I listened to their speeches. I warned people not to forget the party's line. They said that "we have our reasons. If we had won an absolute majority, there wouldn't have been any problem. But we won only this many seats. If we have to choose between this or that person, we will choose Gen Prem." I listened to what they said. They didn't didn't go too far. There were factors concerning the people. They said that they had to say those things. The party's line must be the line. This is a fact.

People from the south differ from other people in that they are very frank. When they meet someone, they talk loudly. They feel that those who do not speak the southern dialect are rather strange (laughs). Thus, there is the feeling that.... Actually, no other prime minister has come from the south. There has never been a reaction on the part of southerners. In some administrations, there has not been one minister from the south. But southerners have never complained.

[Question] You once fought against dictatorship and were charged with being a communist. Given the present conditions, do you think that there is any chance that the situation will reverse itself and that outside powers will interfere with parliament and upset the board?

[Answer] Given the general situation today, I don't think that there is much chance of that happening. The present situation does not support that. But sometimes, such things are not a matter of reason but of human emotion. We cannot become careless. Alertness on the part of leaders in both the administration and parliament will help prevent such things from happening again. For example, they must try to carry out their duties as well as possible and follow the democratic line in order to show the people that this system can in fact solve their problems and that they will be treated fairly under this system. If we can generate such a feeling among the people, the people will act as a shield to prevent other powers from usurping power.

[Question] There is much comment, especially in the press, to the effect that you are one of those who is involved in the conflict within the Democrat Party. It is said that you are the chief planner and that you play the role of compromiser within the party because you don't want any changes made in the party. Because if someone else becomes party leader, he may stay in that position, which would ruin you chances in the future.

[Answer] I have read that, too. I sometimes have the feeling that the writers of those articles know more than I do (laughs). I have been in the party for a long time. I relied on the party's prestige to win election. We do some things for the party. I think that the person who heads the Democrat Party should be someone who is willing to "give" to the party and make sacrifices for the party. It shouldn't be someone who is interested only in being at the top. It can be anyone who shows that he is capable of being the leader of this party. At the very least, it must be someone who is willing to stick by the party in bad times as well as good times. It can't be someone who will leave the party as soon as things turn sour. Such people don't really care for the party. I tend to think like people from the provinces. That is, if I love someone, I really love them. A friend is a friend for life, not just for a short period. That is my personal feeling.

As for the party, I don't want our party to have problems. I have shared the joys and troubles of the party. Regardless of what happens to the party, I will remain loyal. We have worked hard to build our position. When we won 30 of the 114 seats, leaving 32 seats... We have constantly tried to strengthen our position and build up the party. This is how sincere we are toward the party.

I admit that there are problems. I don't want the problems to become serious. Because I don't plan to leave the party, unless I quit politics. Thus, whatever can be done to maintain the party's good image should be done. Perhaps it's because I have been through so much with the party. During those periods when the party was being oppressed, we stood fast and fought. We are tired of the fighting within the party. I don't want such painful things to occur frequently.

Thus, I don't want to see serious conflicts arise within the party. I don't want to see the matter end with a split within the party. That would weaken the party. That would be very bad for the party. That is how I see things. As for forming a clique, we have not formed a clique. We have been accused of being the "Sato" group. That's too much. Each of us thinks for himself. I am happy that the new members think for themselves. They don't sign things just because someone tells them to. There are many people in the party who think the same way as I do. These people are the heart. They don't want things to become too serious. Some columnists may have evaluated this like this. But it may have been an independent and honest view. I am willing to listen to them. Our intentions are honest. Our target is the people. My target is the people. My position won't cause me to change. I was elected by the people. Without the backing of the people, these positions mean nothing. If I fail to win election, I will have to find another way to support myself. Thus, I have a relationship with the people. We have to do whatever we can to benefit the people.

[Question] After Mr Phichai steps down as party leader, are you ready to take his place?

[Answer] That's difficult to answer. If there is a suitable person who is committed to the party and who is not trying to use the party as a tool to enhance his own position, we have to give that person a chance. If that person is prepared and has seniority, he may get the position. I joined the party at the same time as Mr Phichai. But I admit that if I had to watch over the party members like Mr Phichai, I could not do it. If someone came to borrow money, I don't know what I could give him. But if members don't consider that, that is something else. That is in the future.

[Question] Haven't you set your sights on becoming party leader?

[Answer] No. Because I feel that I have already achieved a lot. This is due to the greatness of the democratic system and the sincerity of the people who have supported me. Without the democratic system, I could not have come this far.

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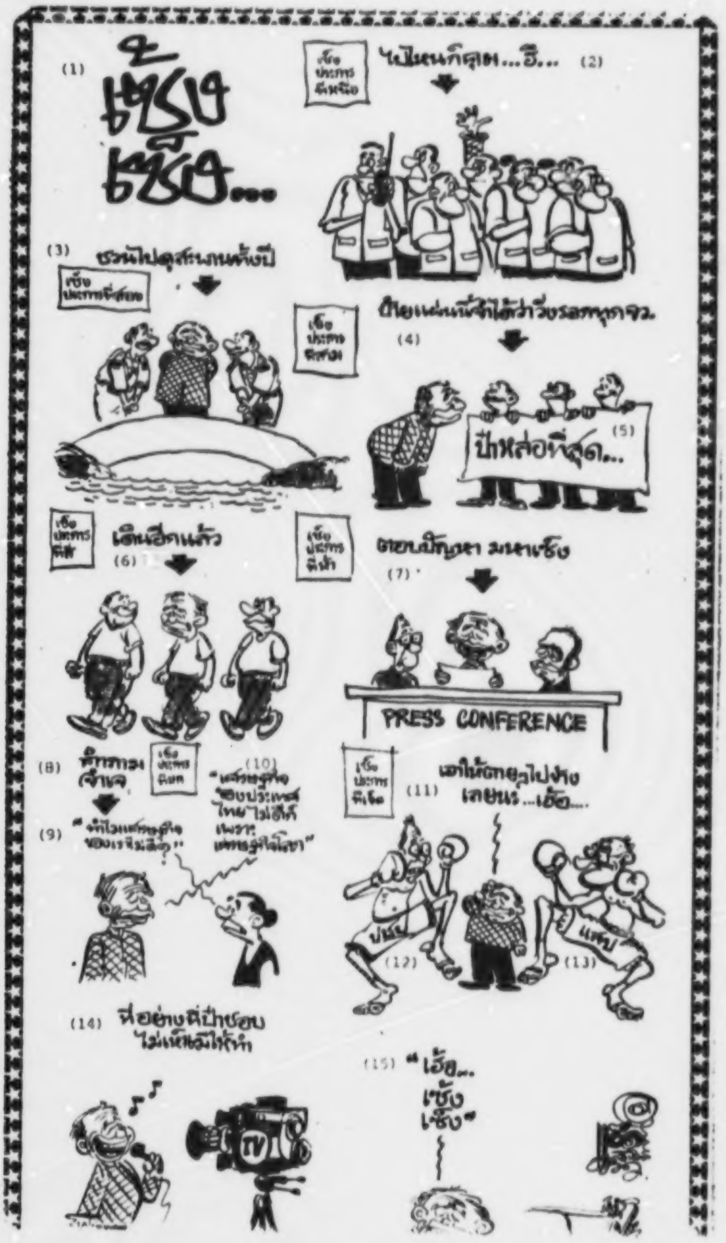
CSO: 4207/32

THAILAND

CARTOON LAMPOONS PREM BOREDOM WITH JOB

Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 12 Oct 86 p 3


(1)
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ปีหล่อที่สุด...
(6)
เดินอีกแล้ว
(7)
PRESS CONFERENCE
(8)
(9)
(10)
(11)
(12)
(13)
(14)
(15)
"เฮ้อ...
เซ็ง
เซ็ง"
TV

Key: 1. Bored, bored...
2. First thing that he is tired of: Is guarded wherever he goes.
3. Second, is invited to go see bridges throughout the year.
4. Third, this sign can be seen in every province.
5. Pa [Prem] Is Very Handsome
6. Fourth, walking some more
7. Fifth, have to answer very boring questions
8. Sixth, the same old questions
9. "Why isn't our economy better?"
10. "Thailand's economy is bad because of the world economy."
11. Seventh, I hope somebody loses.
12. Democrat Party
13. Social Action Party
14. Not allowed to do the things that he enjoys
15. "Oh! So boring."

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THAILAND

EDITORIAL URGES MORE ATTENTION TO LABOR PROBLEMS

BK070945 Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 6 Nov 86 p 8

[Editorial: "Workers and the Government"]

[Text] On 4 November about 3,000 members of the Labor Congress of Thailand and the Thai Trade Unions Confederation demonstrated in front of Government House demanding an answer to their requests for a minimum wage adjustment from 70 to 76 baht per day. The demonstration was peaceful and ended after the workers had elected their representatives to negotiate with the government and follow up their wage demands.

We have known for some time about the workers' plan to demand that the government adjust the minimum wage to make it more realistic under present conditions. However, it is regrettable that the prime minister himself did not pay more attention to the problem but said the wage problem will be decided by the Wage Committee, comprising representatives from the employers, employees, and the government, and that the government will have no say in the matter.

The government's attitude reflects its fear of facing the facts of the workers' problems and does not pay attention to their current hardships. The government's avoiding its responsibility will only bring it closer to the danger caused by the growing hardship and misery of the workers.

It is true that the government has nothing to do with the workers' wages as private companies and factories pay them. The government cannot shirk its responsibility, however, as it is the government's duty to oversee both the factories and the workers and to look after the welfare of the people.

We belive that it is not enough for the government simply to acknowledge the workers' demands without doing anything for them. If the government takes no action at all, the workers will react negatively, and the issue will be blown up as workers throughout the country, including those in the state enterprises, become ready to join demonstrations. We want, therefore, to warn the government not to underestimate the situation but to take action and make a decision to prove to the workers that the government is concerned about their plight. The government must not shirk its responsibility, merely forwarding the matter to the employers and the employees for settlement.

With sincerity and good intentions, we warn the government to pay attention to this problem and spend more time on it than other issues.

/9274
CSO: 4207/52

THAILAND

LABOR SECTOR, EMPLOYERS VIEW MINIMUM WAGE DEMANDS

Bangkok SIAM RAT SAPDA WICHAN in Thai 5-11 Oct 86 pp 24-26

[Unattributed report: "Minimum Wage War Is Major Issue Today"]

[Excerpts] The Subcommittee on Wages conducted a survey, randomly sampling 275 companies. The purpose was to study the ratio of labor costs to total operating costs, the salary structure for employees at companies of various sizes, and the effect of minimum wage adjustments on employers. The results were submitted to the Wage Committee in order to determine the suitability of the minimum wage adjustment based on Ministry of Interior Announcement No 15 of 21 December 1984. The results were:

1. In the companies surveyed, the ratio of labor costs to total costs averaged 17.8 percent in Bangkok Metropolitan, 16.6 percent in the surrounding provinces, and 27 percent in the other provinces. The ratio was larger for smaller companies located in the provinces than for medium-sized and large companies. The ratio for service businesses, which includes financial institutions and insurance companies, was 25.8 percent.

2. For the 275 companies surveyed, it was found that the ratio of labor costs to total costs was highest among service companies, that is, the average ratio was 25.8 percent.

3. The minimum wage adjustment went into effect on 1 January 1985. Of the 275 companies surveyed, 144, or 52.4 percent, adjusted the minimum wage. Of these, 121 were located in Bangkok Metropolitan and the surrounding provinces. The other 23 were located in other provinces. A total of 131 companies, or 47.6 percent, did not not adjust the minimum wage. Of these, 105 were located in Bangkok and the surrounding provinces. The other 26 companies were located in the other provinces.

3. Sixty-five of the 131 companies that did not adjust the minimum wage had fewer than 100 employees. The Wage Committee analyzed the reasons why 46.7 percent of the companies surveyed failed to act in accord with the minimum wage law. Data was obtained from the Labor Inspection Section of the Labor Protection Division. It was found that 33.21 percent of the companies in Bangkok Metropolitan had not complied with the minimum wage law. The Wage Committee concluded that this stemmed from the depressed economic situation

both here and abroad. The companiess could not keep up with the changing economic situation and so could not pay the minimum wage.

Labor Unions Are Demanding That the Minimum Wage Be Raised to 76 Baht

On 9 September, Mr Bunrot Phungthat and Mr Aphai Kunladamrong, employee representatives on the Wage Committee, submitted a letter to Mr Chalieo Watraphuk, the deputy minister of interior, asking that the minimum wage be raised. The reasons for the request were as follows: It has been 2 years since the minimum wage was raised on 1 January 1985. Today, there are approximately 4-5 million laborers who are not earning enough to meet expenditures. It has been proposed that the minimum wage be raised, effective this October, from 70 baht to 76 baht per day in Bangkok and the surrounding provinces. In the other provinces, the minimum wage should be raised accordingly.

Mr Nikhom Tengyai, a member of the Employees Committee, Employees Council of the Labor Federation of Thailand, said that today, the living conditions of laborers is very bad. Their incomes have not kept pace with the cost of living. The data show that 11.8 percent of laborers earn less than 1,500 baht per month and 57.6 percent earn less than 1,900 baht per month. Thus, the great majority of laborers, 69.4 percent, have very low incomes.

Besides this, representativs from the Employees Council of the Labor Council of Thailand and the Employees Council of the Labor Federation of Thailand held a joint meeting at the Royal Hotel on 17 September in order to discuss this matter. Mr Thanong Pho-an, the president of the Employees Council of the Labor Council of Thailand, and Mr Phaisan Thawatchainan, the president of the Employees Council of the Labor Federation of Thailand, were entrusted with the task of submitting a letter to the minister of interior in order to have someone appointed chairman of the Wage Committee as soon as possible and call a meeting of the committee in September. On 28 September, a seminar was held for 500 labor leaders from around the country. The purpose of the seminar, which was held at the Narai Hotel, was to find a way to exert pressure to have the minimum wage raised.

Employers Against Wage Increase, Say This Will Have Bad Effect

The Employers Council of Thailand is opposed to raising the minimum wage. They think that this will have a bad effect on the country's economy. There are now 2 million people unemployed. If the minimum wage is raised, these people will have even less chance of finding work. The minimum wage law stipulates that workers must be paid at least the minimum wage. If the minimum wage is increased, employers will start using more machinery, which will increase unemployment.

As a solution, the Employers Council of Thailand proposed:

1. The present minimum wage should be maintained until the government raises the salaries or wages of personnel, state enterprise employees, and low-ranking government officials to the level of the minimum wage.

2. A wage administrative system should be promoted in the companies based on the work results and work efficiency of each employee each year.

3. The government should use more economic incentives. The tax structure should be improved so that it facilitates investments and job expansion. This should be done in order to promote investments and employment.

4. The government should encourage more people to earn a living independently or be their own boss. Besides reducing unemployment, this will create more employers, who will be a source of jobs in the future.

5. Decisions on the minimum wage will affect the economy and thus will affect people in general. Thus, the final decision should be up to those responsible for the country's economic policy. In particular, the economic cabinet should consider this matter thoroughly before the cabinet renders a final decision.

Mr Anusak Bunyapranai, the president of the Employees Council of the National Labor and Freedom Council, said that the council has discussed this matter carefully and feels that the minimum wage should not be raised until the economic situation is better. "The current minimum wage is adequate. What we want is for the government to force employers to pay the minimum wage."

In his capacity as the government's representative on the Wage Committee, Mr Niyom Purakham, the secretary general of the National Statistical Office, said that it would not be right to raise the minimum wage at this time. This should be postponed until after October. The new administration has just informed parliament of its new economic policy. "Before an adjustment is made, we have to get the views of several groups, not just one group." Another thing is that raising the minimum wage too often will be bad. That is, as far as wages are concerned, things will not be fair for older and newer employees. The need for this with respect to living conditions and the ability of employers to pay this wage in the present economic situation must be considered. Also, we must see how much other groups are being paid today. For example, at present, the minimum wage is 500 baht higher than the salary paid government officials and 100 baht higher than the minimum wage paid state enterprise personnel.

Those attending the meeting of the Minimum Wage Subcommittee concluded that from the time the minimum wage was raised to 70 baht in January 1985 to August 1986, the cost of living index has increased only 4.8 percent instead of the expected 6 percent, which was the basis for adjusting the minimum wage.

Labor production costs average 17.8 percent in Bangkok and 16.6 percent in the surrounding provinces. They are higher in the other provinces. During the past 20 months, 52.4 percent of the companies surveyed raised the minimum wages; 47.6 percent did not.

Of those that raised the minimum wage, the average raise at companies with fewer than 100 workers was 4.3 baht. The average at medium-sized companies with 100 to 499 workers was 3.2 baht, and the average adjustment at large companies with over 500 workers was 2.3 baht. Of these companies, 49 percent did not have a salary structure, and 48 percent did.

The survey found that the small companies pay unskilled workers an average of 72 baht a day. However, 36 percent are paid less than the minimum wage. Semi-skilled workers are paid an average of 80 baht a day. But 16 percent are paid less than the minimum wage. Skilled workers receive an average of 98 baht a day. But 11 percent are paid less than the minimum wage. In 1985, 31.6 percent of the employers were affected by the economic situation. In 1984 and 1983 the figures were 21.8 percent and 15.3 percent respectively.

Present Situation: Daily Expenses for Necessities Per Worker

1. Three meals a day at 15 baht per meal: 45 baht per day
2. Two uniforms a year at 200 baht per uniform: 1.10 baht per day
3. Housing at 600 baht per month: 20 baht per day
4. Medical treatment at 50 baht per month: 1.67 baht per day
5. Bus fare, four trips a day: 8 baht per day
6. Laundry detergent at 20 baht per box: 0.67 baht per day
7. Toothpaste, one tube a month at 20 baht: 0.67 baht per day
8. Soap, two bars a month at 5 baht apiece: 0.33 baht per day
9. Shampoo, one bottle per month at 15 baht per bottle: 0.50 baht per day
10. Haircut once a month at 20 baht: 0.67 baht

Daily total: 78.61 baht
Monthly total: 2,358.30 baht

Note: Does not include entertainment or social expenses.

Minimum Income from Work Per Day Per Worker

Each worker works at most 26 days a month and is paid 70 baht per day. That totals 1,820 baht per month. It can be seen that expenses exceed income by 538.3 baht per month.

(Source: Employees Council of the Labor Federation of Thailand)

Number and Percentage of Companies that Raised the Minimum Wage Following the Minimum Wage Adjustment on 1 January 1985 by Size of Company

(Unit: company)

Size of Company	Total Country			Bangkok and Surrounding Provinces		
	Total	Raised	Did Not Raise	Total	Raised	Did Not Raise
Total	275 (100)	144 (52.4)	131 (47.6)	226 (100)	121 (53.5)	105 (46.5)
Fewer than 100	132 (100)	67 50.8)	65 (49.2)	93 (100)	48 (51.6)	45 (48.4)
100-499	101 (100)	52 (51.5)	49 (48.5)	91 (100)	48 (52.7)	43 (47.3)
Over 500	42 (100)	25 (59.5)	17 (40.5)	42 (100)	25 (59.5)	17 (40.5)

	Other Provinces		
	Total	Raised	Did Not Raise
Total	49 (100)	23 (46.9)	26 (53.1)
Fewer than 100	39 (100)	19 (48.7)	20 (51.3)
100-499	10 (100)	4 (40)	6 (60)
Over 500	--	--	--

Source: "Secret" 1986 data file of the Wage Committee

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EDITORIAL VIEWS MOVES TO HELP RICE FARMERS

BK061207 Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 6 Nov 86 p 3

[Editorial: "Measures To Help Farmers"]

[Text] The Council of Economic Ministers on Monday adopted a package of measures to help farmers. The Interior Ministry will use 300 million baht as funds to improve paddy prices for poor landless farmers or those farming less than 9 rai of paddy fields. The Bank of Thailand will provide about 5 billion baht as credit to commercial banks for lending to millers to buy up crops in the current season.

Several other measures were proposed at the meeting to tackle major problems facing rice farmers. They include stringent controls on officials in charge of implementing rice policy measures to prevent corruption, and a plan to reduce production costs as a means to raise farmers' income.

Those measures are not new, but were introduced earlier to help farmers. They even met with problems, such as from the middlemen who bought up paddy from farmers prior to the harvests for storage--so that they would be entitled to quota from the Commerce Ministry to secure stockpiling credits. The measures thus did not benefit farmers because farmers even sold out their paddy before the support prices were introduced. The measure to have the Interior Ministry buy paddy from landless farmers or those with less than 9 rai of paddy fields is again not realistic and farmers will certainly not benefit from the support price scheme.

The question remains as to whether there has been an assessment of the results of those measures taken, whether the measure aimed at helping farmers repay their debts really worked, and whether the farmers' lot has improved as a result of those measures. There should be an assessment so that practical measures can be adopted as long-term plans.

The package of measures adopted at the meeting of the Council of Economic Ministers may relieve the farmers' hardships to a certain extent and on a temporary [basis], but the farmers cannot expect to have a much better life.

If our government subsidized rice farmers the way the U.S. Government helps its farmers, then we believe the lot of our farmers would improve. However, the government has no money to implement such measures. Moreover, we can expect stiff competition in rice marketing next year, and we stand to lose to the farmers in developed countries as their governments are in a stronger position than ours.

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CSO: 4207/52

THAILAND

MILITARY INTERVENTION IN SURAT CASE REPORTED

Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 23 Oct 86 pp 15-17

[Unattributed report: "A Report on the Events Before and After the No-Confidence Debate on MP Surat Osathanukhro: The Power of Logs (the Opposition), Military Props Up Parliament (Feared Administration Would Be Toppled)"]

[Excerpts] "Things are in an uproar. No one thought this would happen. Everyone is trying to think of something. But no one has voiced an opinion on how to solve this problem. No one wants to start anything. It might turn into a situation requiring resolute action. People seem to have the same idea. If this problem can't be solved, the situation will become very complex. Things could become so bad that we may have to help the government maintain the political situation. Put simply, it may be necessary to use force to solve the problem and prevent chaos in the country," said a senior military officer to LAK THAI about the matter of "solving the problem" involving Police Cpt Surat Osathanukhro, whose head is on the chopping block in parliament over the "Burmese timber" matter.

Nothing Said, Knew Duty

LAK THAI asked whether Ban Sisao [Prem's residence] had made contact or asked for help in solving this problem. Our news source said that at far as he knew, no contact was made directly (meaning Gen Prem Tinsulanon and Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut). However, people at a lower level checked the story and exchanged information on the movements of the political parties. "In such matters, that is all that is done. Senior people automatically know who is responsible for what, what can be done to help, and what methods can be used. It is not Prem's habit to say very much. He is very patient. Those who know him well do things for him. They know what he wants. But he doesn't say anything."

LAK THAI has also been informed that the person in the Government House whom military officers have contacted most frequently is Squadron Leader Prasong Sunsiri, the secretary general to the prime minister. And the people who have kept tabs on what is happening are Gen Wanchai Ruangtrakun, the army chief of staff, and Lt Gen Charuai Wongsayan and Lt Gen Suchinda Khraprayun, the deputy army chiefs of staff.

"The Thai Nation Party was asked about the details of the party's resolution and whether this was definite. This was like asking for assurance. Because the Thai Nation Party was playing the leading role. The Thai Nation Party was well aware of the actions of the military, which was rather worried, and knew that this was out of the ordinary. For example, Col Prachak Sawangchit said that he voted in support of Surat because he knew what would happen and wanted to maintain the status quo."

A Request To Abstain

LAK THAI was told that a"senior person" was very upset when a junior officer said that the objective of the talks was to force the Democrats to withdraw the motion and support Police Cpt Surat. "The senior person said that it's not necessary to seek reconciliation and make such a request. Asking them to abstain is sufficient. They don't have to support anyone or vote for anyone. That's all that was asked. If they can't be friends but they aren't enemies, let them stay away from each other. The matter will settle itself." Thus, that was the objective of the talks held that evening by a lieutenant general and three senior people in the Democrat Party. That is, the party was asked to abstain. They were told to think about that and decide whether to agree. They were told what was wanted. There was no need to wait for an answer. "They didn't want an answer, because they had already told them what the problem was. They could decide for themselves how to solve the problem given the existing political situation. No one could allow things to continue like that. That was not a threat. That was just meant to inform them about the great concern for the government, of which the Democrat Party is a part."

The result was that the Democrat Party did as it was asked by the military and "abstained." Members went against the party resolution, which called for voting against Police Cpt Surat, even though they had originally said that they would have to follow the party resolution.

If Didn't Pass

LAK THAI asked a high-level news source in the army what would have happened if the vote on the 9th had gone against Police Cpt Surat. The answer was that there could have been several repercussions. The government could have solved the problem by resigning or dissolving parliament. "But senior military officers did not want that to happen. They did not want the political problem solved using such methods. Another way would have been to have someone else help solve the problem using force. Because the government could no longer put up with that."

The Aftermath

Another news source stated that just after the election, the military discussed the formation of a government. It was said that the Democrat Party would have problems. Because following the election, there were indications that the situation within the party was not good. The military knew in advance that the party would have problems. Thus, it wanted careful thought given to the composition of the new administration. But in the end, the most suitable formula seemed to be a coalition composed of the Social Action, Thai Nation, Democrat, and Citizens parties.

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CSO: 4207/42

F-16 SALES TO COUNTER MIG'S CALLED INTO QUESTION

BK041437 Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 1 Nov 86 p 9

[Article by Awut Rattayothin: "F-16's for Third World Countries: Who Is Benefiting From the Sales?"]

[Excerpts] India has decided to buy from the Soviet Union MIG-29's, one of the most advanced aircraft, to gain air superiority over Pakistan, which has just received F-16's from the United States.

The Soviet Air Force deployed MIG-29's last year. The planes have also been deployed by Warsaw Pact members.

The Soviet Union proposed to India setting up a branch MIG-29 manufacturing plant. This may result in India having to abandon its Mirage-2000 and -40 projects with France. India still needs such an aircraft manufacturing plant as long as the country cannot develop its own light combat aircraft production.

The Indian-Soviet agreement was signed in Moscow, thus ending the controversy in the Indian Air Force over the advantages and disadvantages of the "multipurpose" Mirage-2000 planes and the "unipurpose" MIG-29's, which will be added to the MIG-17's, which are ground combat planes.

India is replacing its MIG-96's [as published] with the most sophisticated MIG-29's to match the most advanced Western F-16's, especially since Pakistan has recently received a squadron of F-16's.

The United States sold Pakistan these planes to balance India's Soviet-made MIG's.

This is the same reason for the U.S. sale of F-16's to Thailand--to balance the various types of MIG the Soviet Union has deployed in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. This has already been mentioned in the air force white book on Thailand's purchase of F-16's from the United States.

As several Third World countries have bought and are buying F-16's to match the Soviet MIG's, it should be known whether the F-16 is really competitive with the most recent MIG's. The Western world has very little knowledge of the MIG aircraft. The most recent information received was when a Soviet pilot flew a MIG to Japan seeking political asylum.

Before returning the plane to the Soviet Union, Western engineers took it apart for study and then reassembled it. According to the findings, the Soviet MIG does not have as advanced structure, technology, or materials as the outside world had speculated.

In my own opinion, at any rate, the Western engineers must have found something other than what they said publicly. They must have found in that MIG an advanced and sophisticated technology that prompted them to conduct research and develop the new batches of F-16's to match the Soviet MIG's. Even the latest model F-16 is admittingly far behind the Soviet MIG's, not to mention the fragility and complicated structure of the F-16, which makes it inferior to the MIG, with its simple and solid structure, which is easy for control and use.

Moreover, the Soviet pilots flying the Soviet aircraft are much more superior to the Third World pilots flying the F-16's. Thus it seems hopeless to think that F-16's would enable us to win air superiority over MIG's.

Therefore, it is never true and will never be true that we can deter aggression from MIG's with F-16's. Why then are Third World countries demanding F-16's? We must first ask who is benefiting from the sale of the F-16's. The answer is: the U.S. Government and the brokers and officials of the buying countries.

This is the reason for the "inevitable necessity to have F-16's."

In conclusion, the more one can make the MIG aircraft look formidable in the eyes of Third World countries, the better F-16's will sell.

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CSO: 4207/52

CHAWALIT'S REORGANIZATION OF ARMY OUTLINED

Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 9 Oct 86 pp 19-21

[Unattributed report: "A Report About the New Order by Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut: Big George-Big Sua, a Big Exercise"]

[Text] CRMA [Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy] Classes 1-5 took control of the army beginning on 1 October. It seems that Big Chiu, Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, the RTA CINC, has ordered another major "exercise" in his effort to improve the operations structure, including the standard operating procedures (SOP) and policies, and ensure that things run more smoothly. Steps have been taken to improve the work structure of the army's administrative echelon, the level of senior commanders, in several areas, including personnel and administration and in staff and command circles.

Orders of Athit Revoked

Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut has changed the work structure of the staff line by changing or revoking six orders previously issued by Gen Athit Kamlangek, the former RTA CINC. Staff officers are to act in accord with the new regulations in order to increase efficiency. The work chain has been shortened so that commanders can make decisions and issue orders more quickly. Some orders have given special powers to staff officers. That is, certain matters do not have to be forwarded to the RTA CINC or deputy RTA CINC for consideration. The assistant army chief of staff responsible and deputy army chief of staff can make the decision and issue an order immediately without having to forward the matter to the army chief of staff.

The fact that orders and regulations issued during the time of Gen Athit Kamlangek have been changed or revoked is something that has been widely discussed in the army. In particular, there has been much talk about the new operations line concerning the powers of the commanders of the four army regions and the Special Warfare Command, which is the equivalent of an army area. The army region commanders and commander of the Special Warfare Command have been given greater power to make decisions and issue orders on their own. They will not have to submit matters to superior officers or wait for orders from above. It is thought that granting these commanders greater power will increase efficiency.

Power Base of the Army Chief of Staff Has Been Expanded

Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut is very interested in administrative or staff work as a result of the fact that he served as assistant army chief of staff for operations, deputy army chief of staff, and army chief of staff before becoming RTA CINC. He probably felt that certain things posed an obstacle to the powers of the army chief of staff. As a result, he has given more power to the army chief of staff, that is, Gen Wanchai Ruangtrakun. What is particularly interesting is that the chief of staff, who used to be responsible for shifting through things and making recommendations only, is now the one who issues orders in the SOP chain. He has been given more power to give orders and make decisions on problems. This is the first time that the army chief of staff, who has always "prepared" things for others, has been able to handle matters himself. Thus, responsibilities have now been entrusted to the army chief of staff instead of having the RTA CINC, deputy RTA CINC, and assistant RTA CINCs handle everything.

Work Divided Among Three Major Groups

Big Chiu has issued an order dividing the responsibilities among the senior officers in the army. Within the staff section, there are five main directorates: the Directorate of Personnel (G-1), the Directorate of Intelligence (G-2), the Directorate of Operations (G-3), the Directorate of Logistics (G-4), and the Directorate of Civil Affairs (G-5). The army chief of staff, Gen Wanchai Ruangtrakun, has been put in full charge of some of these directorates. In the past, it was those in the "command" line who were directly in charge. That is, it was the two assistant RTA CINCs who were in charge. Matters were passed to them from the staff officers or from the army chief of staff. Now, Big Chiu has put the army chief of staff directly in charge of staff directorates. The army chief of staff is now subject to the orders of the RTA CINC only, and in some cases he can even issue orders in place of the RTA CINC. Thus, he is the equal of the assistant RTA CINCs and the deputy RTA CINC, who take their orders from the RTA CINC. The other directorates have been divided among the army chief of staff, Gen Phichit Kunlawanit, or Sua Yai, the first assistant RTA CINC, and Gen Sunthon Khongsomphong, or Big George, the second assistant RTA CINC.

Different Than Expected

Originally, it was expected that if the work was divided as before, Gen Phichit Kunlawanit would be in charge of personnel and operations because those are the fields in which he is skilled, particularly operations. Gen Sunthon Khongsomphong would be put in charge of intelligence, logistics, and civil affairs. But the order issued by Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut changed things completely. The order, based on the new policy, gave Gen Wanchai Ruangtrakun, the army chief of staff, command responsibilities in addition to his staff duties. This is the first time that the army chief of staff has played a major role in command affairs.

Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, the RTA CINC, issued an order stating that Gen Phisit Mobut, the deputy RTA CINC, is to take the place of the RTA CINC whenever ordered to do so. He was also put in charge of several other matters that do not require the attention of the RTA CINC.

Big Sua Is in Charge of Personnel

The only work assigned Gen Phichit Kunlawanit was personnel affairs. That is, he was put in direct control of the Directorate of Personnel and the Reserve Affairs Department. Gen Sunthon Khongsomphong, too, was put in charge of only one section, logistics. But that includes the work of administrative operations units that are within the logistics section. Thus, Big George is in charge of the Directorate of Logistics, the Special Services Department, the Quartermaster Department, the Ordnance Department, the Signal Department, the Engineer Department, the Post Engineer Department, the Chemical Department, the Finance Department, the Office of the Army Comptroller, the Veterinary Department, the Medical Department, and the Transportation Department. This is known as the "technical services" section. Gen Wanchai Ruangtrakun, the army chief of staff, has been put in charge of G-2, or intelligence, G-3, or operations, and G-5, or civil affairs. He is in contol of the Directorate of Intelligence, the Army Intelligence Unit, the Directorate of Operations, the Directorate of Civil Affairs, the Civil Affairs Operations Center, the Reserves for National Security Program, and the People's Volunteers for Development and Self Defense Village Program.

In Charge of Personnel, In Charge of Finances

By putting Gen Phichit Kunlawanit in charge of personnel and Gen Sunthon Khongsomphong in charge of finances, the work of the two assistant RTA CINCs has divided into two separate sectors. Many people in the army say that putting the army chief of staff in charge of intelligence, operations, and civil affairs was the right thing to do. Because the three groups are about equal in importance. Even though Big Sua is in direct control of very few units, personnel is a very important sector. And even though Big George is in charge of logistics, or technical services units, instead of combat units, he is in charge of the army's budget. This creates a good balance. A high-level news sources of ours talked about the fact that Gen Wanchai Ruangtrakun, the army chief of staff, has been put in control of sectors formerly controled by the assistant RTA CINCs, that is, intelligence, operations, and civil affairs. He said that besides the fact that intelligence and operations are closely related to each other, this was also done in order to give Big Sua and Big George equal responsibilities. That is, one has been put in charge of personnel and the other has been put in charge of finances.

Another news source said that it should be noted that the Directorate of Personnel, which is overseen by Big Sua, is now headed by Maj Gen Chaiyawut Simat. Maj Gen Chaiyawut, who has replaced Lt Gen Prasoet Sanrut as director of personnel, is quite close to the RTA CINC. Also, Lt Gen Sanan Sawetsenni, the assistant army chief of staff for personnel, was once the "right-hand" of Big George. That is, he served as the deputy commander of the Special Warfare Command before being appointed assistant army chief of staff for personnel.

Indications about "Next Year"

A high-level news source in the army told LAK THAI that the fact that Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut has assigned different jobs to the "two Bigs" is an indication of what will happen in 1987 after Gen Phisit Mobut, the deputy RTA CINC, retires. To determine who will be assigned what position next year, we have to watch things this year and see who is assigned the important tasks in preparation for promotion next year. "In terms of seniority, both Big Sua and Big George were promoted to major general in 1980. But Big Sua is the senior of the two by about 6 months. After the Hawaii April events, Big Sua was transferred from Phitsanulok and made commander of the 1st King's Guard Infantry Division.. At that time, Big George was still a special colonel. He was the deputy commander of the Army Aviation Center. He was promoted to major general in October of that year and replaced Maj Gen Sathian Nilakamhaeng. Thus, in terms of being promoted to major general, the one is senior to the other by a matter of months only. But they were both promoted to lieutenant general and full general at the same time. On the pay scale, they are both at the 40th step. They are equal," said the news source. He added that because they have been given different jobs, with one in charge of personnel and the other in charge of finances, it is difficult to determine who has the advantage. But the technical services sector of Gen Sunthon Khongsomphong seems very big, because there are many departments that are directly subordinate. "We will have to wait another month or two to see who will be appointed deputy RTA CINC next year. But it probably won't be Gen Wanchai. He will probably be put in the other staff line. But there are those who say that the fact that Gen Wanchai has been put on a par with the assistant RTA CINCs indicates that he is being groomed for a command position. We will have to wait and see."

Offices Separated

In the past, the offices of the senior army officers were located in different places. But now that Army Headquarters is located at CRMA, the RTA CINC, deputy RTA CINC, army chief of staff, and assistant RTA CINCs all have their offices at the same location. But the work is divided based on their "closeness" to "Suan Run," the location of the Army Operations Center. All of the senior commanders have officers there, too, just like at Army Headquarters. But Gen Sunthon Khongsomphong has another office at Suan Misakawan, or the Bangkok Peacekeeping Command.

Big George Doesn't Want To Go to Kesa Kamon

Another report stated that Gen Sunthon Khongsomphong does not yet have regular quarters based on his position as assistant RTA CINC. That is, he does not have quarters in the Suan Phuttan area, because there is no housing available. No housing is available near the King's Guard Mahat Lek Regiment across from Suan Run.

Big George may have to live at Kesa Kamon, which is where Gen Athit Kamlangek lives. Gen Athit will move from this house when he returns from the United States at the end of this month. "Big George doesn't want to live at Kesa

Kamon. But Big Chiu has told him that there are no other houses available. He will have to live there. He doesn't have to worry about any "magic spells." It seems that the next resident of Kesa Kamon after Field Marshal Thanom Kittikhachon and Gen Athit Kamlangek will be Gen Sunthon Khongsomphong," said our army news source.

Gen Phichit Kunlawanit, the First Assistant RTA CINC

Directorate of Personnel
Reserve Affairs Department

Gen Sunthon Khongsomphong, the Second Assistant RTA CINC

Directorate of Logistics
Special Services Department
Quartermaster Department
Ordnance Department
Signal Department
Engineer Department
Post Engineer Department
Chemical Department
Finance Department
Office of the Army Comptroller
Veterinary Department
Medical Department
Transportation Department

Gen Wanchai Ruangtrakun, the Army Chief of Staff

Directorate of Intelligence
Army Intelligence Unit
Directorate of Operations,
Directorate of Civil Affairs
Civil Affairs Operations Center
Reserves for National Security Program
People's Volunteers for Development and Self Defense Village Program

11943
CSO: 4207/34

THAILAND

COLUMNIST SEES FOREIGN POLICY IMPACT OF BORDER SMUGGLING

Bangkok BAN MUANG in Thai 3 Oct 86 p 5

[Ta Mo Lo column: "Smuggled Burmese Timber and Regional Politics"]

[Excerpts] I support granting permission to import timber smuggled from Burma. That is our legal right, because it will help our economy. There is no reason to fear that this will affect our relations with Burma.

The reason cited by Minister Surat and those who support him was that our neighbor does not show us any consideration. We should have the right to do what we want without showing them any consideration. As it stands now, we are at a disadvantage.

From this standpoint, this is correct. But we have to look at this more closely. We have to see the advantages and disadvantages. Burma has seized Thai fishing boats. But in doing that, it has the support of international law. It wins in every court of law.

Singapore and Malaysia allow ore to be smuggled in from Thailand. Their governments have never issued permits. They have just ignored this. And so we can't win a case against them in court. They just say that they don't have the capabilities to suppress the smuggling. In the case of issuing a permit to import smuggled timber from Burma, if we issue an official permit, we will lose if the case is taken to court. Smuggled timber is illegal timber, and so Burma would have the right to charge us with violating their sovereignty. That is because we are purchasing smuggled timber from liberation groups that are engaged in a struggle against the Burmese government. That is tantamount to our supporting those liberation groups that are enemies of the Burmese government. (Some reports state that the CIA is backing them). I don't know whether this is right or not.

Today, we have many problems with our neighbors, that is, Laos, Cambodia, Malaysia, and Burma. Will this just create more problems?

If Burma takes this matter to the United Nations, claiming that it has the law on its side, how can Thailand exonerate itself? Will this tarnish Thailand's image in international society?

Merchants and politicians are cooperating. Most of the timber is purchased from the Karens who fighting for independence. Those who don't believe this can go and talk with old politicians. Some of this is Thai timber, although the importers claim that it is all Burmese timber. However, this is being done by criminals. The Thai government is not involved. Recently, senior Thai officials became much stricter in the wake of Burmese criticism. As a result, the criminals had to take the matter to the minister, which is what precipitated this.

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CSO: 4207/42

BRIEFS

MINIMUM WAGE TO INCREASE--The Wage Committee meeting yesterday agreed to the following adjustments of the minimum wage which will become effective 1 April, 1987; the minimum wage for Bangkok, Samut Prakan, Nonthaburi, Pathum Thani, Samut Sakhon, Nakhon Pathom, Phangnga, Ranong, and Phuket will increase from 70 baht to 73 baht per day. The daily minimum wage for Chon Buri, Nkhon Ratchasima, Sara Buri and Chiang Mai provinces will rise from 65 baht to 67 baht; while the minimum wage for remaining 60 provinces will go up from 59 baht to 61 baht. The Wage Committee's decision will be forwarded to the Interior Ministry for issuance as an official announcement on the wage adjustment. [Text] [Bangkok Domestic Service in Thai 0000 GMT 11 Nov 86 BK] /9274

RADIO REVIEWS U.S. TRADE SURPLUS--The Commercial Relations Department reported an increase in Thailand's exports to and decrease in imports from the United States during the first 7 months of 1986 compared to the corresponding period last year. During the first 7 months of this year, Thailand gained $520.06 million in trade surplus by exporting to the United States $1,033.51 million worth of goods while importing only $513.45 million from the United States. Last year, Thailand exported $848.74 million worth of goods to the United States while the value of imports was $533.32 million. Major exports are: electric circuits--about 11.57 percent of overall income from exports--canned fish, natural gas, canned fruits, ornaments, gemstones, and coffee. In 1985, 73 Thai's export items earned more than $1 million. The number has increased to 82 during the period from January to July this year. [Text] [Bangkok Domestic Service in Thai 0000 GMT 8 Nov 86 BK] /9274

CAMBODIAN REFUGEE STATISTICS REPORTED--The Supreme Command Information Office reported that during the past week, a total of 22,435 Cambodian refugees and illegal immigrants were at Khao I-dang holding center in Ta Phraya District of Prachin Buri province and nearby areas. The number of Cambodians seeking refuge along the Thai-Cambodian border was recorded at 260,230--65,033 in Sisaket and Surin Provinces and 118,218 in Prachin Buri Province. There were 138,116 refugees at Site 2 in Ta Phraya District and 30,402 at Site 8 in Khlong Hat subdistrict. Along the southern portion of the border, a total of 37,039 refugees are living in the border areas of Chanthaburi and Trat provinces. [Text] [All figures as heard] [Bangkok First Army Region in Thai 2300 GMT 7 Nov 86 BK] /9274

KING GREETS SOVIET PRESIDENT--Today, 7 November, is the national day of the Soviet Union. The king has sent the following telegram greeting the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: On occasion of the USSR National Day, the Thai people and I convey to you our greetings and best wishes for the happiness and prosperity of you and the Soviet people. [Text] [Bangkok Domestic Service in Thai 1300 GMT 7 Nov 86 BK] /9274

OUTGOING SWEDISH AMBASSADOR--On 29 October Nils-Olov Fredrik Hasslev, Swedish ambassador to Thailand, called on Prime Minister General Prem Tinsulanon to bid farewell upon completion of his assignment in Thailand. [Excerpt] [Bangkok Voice of Free Asia in Thai 1030 GMT 30 Oct 86 BK] /9274

ALGERIAN AMBASSADOR DESIGNATE--The Thai Government has endorsed the Algerian Government's proposal to appoint (Mohamed Chadli) as Algerian Ambassador to Thailand. He will reside in Dacca. [Summary] [Bangkok Domestic Service in Thai 1300 GMT 27 Oct 86 BK] /9274

MORE FLIGHTS TO HANOI--Since the beginning of November, Thai Airways Limited has added a Bangkok-Hanoi flight every other Monday in addition to the current flight every Wednesday. [Summary] [Bangkok Voice of Free Asia in Thai 1030 GMT 6 Nov 86 BK] /9274

BANDITRY IN BORDER DISTRICT--Prachinburi: Mr Thawon Phosombat, the district officer in Taphraya District, Prachinburi Province, was was asked about the matter of war weapons. Taphraya District is the site of Cambodian and Vietnamese refugee camps. Also, there are groups of Cambodians there who have not entered the refugee camps, because officials refuse to accept them. As a result, Thai citizens who live in the villages there are often robbed. Mr Thawon, the district officier, said that the district regularly sends Regional Security Volunteers [RSV] to the villages near the refugee camps in order to prevent Cambodian bandits from robbing Thai villagers. RSV forces from Taphraya District clash with Cambodian bandits almost every night. The RSV forces have seized a large quantity of weapons and ammunition from bandits killed in the clashes and from bandits who abandoned their weapons during the clashes. During the past 3 months, Taphraya District has seized a large number of war weapons from Cambodian bandits. Constant attention has been given to this problem. Because if armed bandits are allowed to remain in the district, this will pose a great danger to the lives and property of the Thai who live along the border. [Text] [Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 15 Oct 86 p 6] 11943

EDITORIAL HAILS ARMS DEPOT--There has been criticism to the effect that establishing a Thai-U.S. arms depot will be like inviting the enemy into the house or like setting up a target for the enemy to attack. This criticism takes the side of the enemy. It must be admitted that Thailand is already directly threatened by enemies. Although we are not openly threatened, the enemy has stockpiled weapons and stationed soldiers all along our eastern border. Establishing an arms depot here will show the enemy that we are prepared to defend our sovereignty and that we are not afraid of their forces. [Text] [Bangkok BAN MUANG in Thai 18 Oct 86 p 4] 11943

CSO: 4207/42

COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

SIHANOUK REJECTS VIETNAMESE FORMULA FOR PEACE TALKS

AU072130 Paris AFP in English 2111 GMT 7 Nov 86

[Text] Paris, 7 Nov (AFP)--Prince Norodom Sihanouk, leader of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, recognised by the United Nations in place of the Vietnamese-based government in Phnom Penh, Friday rejected here a Vietnamese formula for peace talks.

Hanoi had offered talks in Vienna involving all Cambodia's political forces, but Prince Sihanouk, told a press conference here he would insist on bilateral talks involving his government and Hanoi, with the Phnom Penh regime taking a back seat behind the Vietnamese.

The prince is in Paris for the launch of his book "Prisoners of the Khmer Rouge." Arriving here from New York, where he had taken part in the UN General Assembly, the prince said his government's plan was the only hope for a resolution of the Cambodian conflict.

The Khmer Rouge forms the principle component of his coalition, although its leaders claim they have dropped their communist ideology and disbanded their communist party which under Pol Pot instigated a "re-education" programme from 1975-79 that led to the slaughter of thousands of Cambodians.

Prince Sihanouk said Friday Soviet support for the regime in Phnom Penh had to change, and said he thought the matter would be raised in the current round of Sino-Sovie talks.

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CSO: 4212/9

COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

VODK REPORTS SIHANOUK'S UNGA SPEECH

BK260630 (Clandestine) Voice of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2330 GMT 24 Oct 86

[Text] On the morning of 20 October 1986, on behalf of the Democratic Kampuchean delegation to the 41st UN General Assembly, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, president of Democratic Kampuchea, made a solemn speech at the UNGA debate on the situation in Cambodia. The following is the gist of his speech:

First of all, the Samdech said: In January 1979, after sending more than 100,000 soldiers, supported by tanks, artillery, and modern weaponry provided by the Soviet Union, to invade Cambodia, the SRV declared its total victory. It arrogantly affirmed that its act of aggression in Cambodia was a fait accompli and irreversible, thus there was no more Cambodian problem. But now, after conducting a war of aggression and occupation of Cambodia for nearly 8 years, the Vietnamese are deeply bogged down on the Cambodian battlefield while suffering more serious difficulties at home in economic, social, and political fields. In the international arena, Vietnam has become extremely isolated with each passing day. This is the result of the increasingly strong military pressure of our national resistance forces and people, who are very patriotic and resolute, combined with world community's firmer and wider support for the just cause of the Cambodian people, displayed through the increasing majority of votes of various UN member countries supporting the resolution on the situation in Cambodia. This clearly testifies to the significance of the UN General Assembly's annual debate and resolution on the issue being discussed today. The UN General Assembly's annual debate and resolution have contributed to preventing this illegal occupation of Cambodia from becoming a fait accompli and this violation of the UN Charter by Vietnam from being unpunished.

The Samdech said: To all the Cambodians both at home and abroad, the nearly 8-year war that Vietnam has imposed on us is a period of severe tests and trials in our history but full of experiences and lessons for our nation now and in the future. Through this, our national unity has emerged and been tested in our resolute and fierce struggle against Vietnam which wants to eliminate our national entity and annex our country. Those who have followed our struggle for national survival admit that this struggle has made progress despite having to face many more obstacles and difficulties. Like in the past, this year the CGDK Armed Forces have been growing tremendously.

In my speech made on 30 September, I had the honor to inform you about our satisfactory progress which has been broadly and unaimously disseminated by various major propaganda machines. As a matter of fact, the large-scale offensive conducted along the western border of Cambodia by Vietnam during the 1985 dry season, with the reinforcement of vast numbers of troops from Vietnam and a large quantity of war materiel provided by the Soviet Union, had not broken the backbone of our resistance movement. The Vietnamese forces not only completely failed in their attempt to seal off the border to contain and smash our resistance forces inside the country but they have now become more deeply bogged down and suffered from our attacks day and night in all areas throughout the country, particularly the areas around the Tonle Sap Lake and around Phnom Penh, which are economically-rich and densely populated areas.

Currently, our resistance forces are able to mount operations openly. Our resistance forces have carried out operations in their uniforms with permanent bases around Phnom Penh and various provincial seats. Our attacks are aimed mainly at dismantling the enemies' administrative and military organizations at all levels in order to liberate people and Cambodian soldiers and administrators who have been forced to serve in the enemy's colonialist war. These attacks by our forces have caused increased shortages of fighting force and materiel among the Vietnamese enemy aggressors who badly need these to continue their war in Cambodia. Our attacks have thus given encouragement to the people and Cambodian soldiers and officials forced to serve the Vietnamese colonialist regime in Phnom Penh and incited them to mutiny and join our resistance forces. Each passing day, our national unity has been strengthened and expanded. Our forces have grown and increased their activities in fighting the Vietnamese on the battlefield with the slogan: Cambodians do not fight fellow Cambodians and Cambodians unite in the struggle to drive the Vietnamese aggressors out. Our national resistance forces have been able to increase their activities inside the country, even along the border adjoining Vietnam, and attack the enemy's strategic places because they enjoy active support, assistance, and participation of the people and Cambodian soldiers and administrators, who act as informants and guides.

The balance of forces on the battlefield is changing in our favor. Although smaller in number and with less weapons than the enemy, our resistance forces have many favorable conditions, such as lofty patriotic spirit, determination to fight for national survival, and broader and more active support and cooperation of the entire people and increasing numbers of Cambodian soldiers and administrators. In the face of this political and military situation, which is developing more and more unfavorably for the Vietnamese aggressors, the Vietnamese Army High Command is forced to withdraw an important part of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia's western border to the country's interior to replace Cambodian soldiers, in whom the Vietnamese have lost confidence, to defend Phnom Penh which is now under attack by our forces. Since 1979, this is the first time that the Vietnamese forces have been unable to launch their annual dry-season offensive. This is a sign that the Vietnamese have lost the initiative in fighting. Moreover, the morale, health, and material situation of the Vietnamese forces are constantly deteriorating.

According to an article carried by Hanoi Radio on 14 August 1986, Vietnamese soldiers fighting in Cambodia are in rags and their food supplies seriously lacking. Some of them are suffering from diseases. Vietnamese planes are flying in an unsecured sky. It is difficult for them to find landing places.

This excludes the shortages of gasoline. Enemy activity--meaning our resistance forces--has become more vigorous.

The Samdech continued: The basic factor of this splendid development, and a significant feature of the current Cambodian situation, is the unity of all Cambodians from all walks of life at home and abroad. This unity has been strengthened and expanded in terms of patriotism and activities against the Vietnamese aggressors. Inside the country, people in all provinces are fed up with Vietnamese crimes and oppression committed during the past almost 8 years. With each passing day, our people have become well aware of the fact that the Vietnamese aggressors are the most dangerous enemies and that the policy to Vietnamize Cambodia is a danger to the survival of our nation, culture, civilization, and national identity. Increasingly aware of this serious danger, more and more of our people, and even many officials of the Heng Samrin puppet clique, have expressed their support and given all kinds of assistance to our CGDK Armed Forces. Moreover, many nationalist Cambodian soldiers forced by the Vietnamese to serve in the Heng Samrin army have mutinied and turned against the Vietnamese enemies; entire units of these Cambodian soldiers have been deserting.

The Samdech said: As long as the Vietnamese stubbornly persist in continuing their occupation in Cambodia, their conflict with the Cambodian people and Cambodian soldiers and administrative personnel of the puppet regime propped up in Phnom Penh will get wider and more serious. No matter how hard they try, the Vietnamese certainly cannot crush the Cambodian people's nationalism and patriotic spirit. It is even harder for the Vietnamese to try to hinder the impetus of our national struggle, an impetus born from and increased by the continued occupation of Cambodia by the Vietnamese enemy. The constant increase of mutual understanding and mutual trust, which has brought about unity and unanimity in the views and activities within the CGDK, has created a strong current of national unity against the Vietnamese occupation.

On the battlefield, the tripartite forces of our CGDK have increased their cooperation in their attacks against the enemy. In the flames of war against the common enemy, our three patriotic armed forces have shared weal and woe and maintain brotherly relations and contacts which ensure our victories. Maneuvers to sow discord among our CGDK factions have increasingly convinced us that national unity and national reconciliation are vital factors for the survival of our nation in current and future struggles.

The 8-point proposal made public on 17 March 1986 is proof of this firm belief which rallies us in our view regarding a political solution to the Cambodian problem and Cambodia's future. This 8-point proposal is proof of our generosity and our highest contribution. It is proof that we are reasonable and shows our spirit of reconciliation toward Cambodians of every tendency as well as toward the Vietnamese aggressors. This proposal is our nation's constitution for the present and for the future. Now it is up to the Vietnamese to end their war of aggression, withdraw all their forces from Cambodia, and pave the way for the Heng Samrin clique they have forcibly propped up and maintained in Phnom Penh to take part in the 4-party Coalition Government of Cambodia to organize free elections under UN supervision. It is also up to the Vietnamese to make our two countries eternal neighbors and restore relations of friendship and sincere cooperation based on the 5-point principle of peaceful coexistence, equality, mutual respect, and mutual interests.

The Samdech continued: At the general debate of this UN General Assembly session, many delegates gave us justice and supported our peace proposal. I am honored and happy to express to them on behalf of the CGDK and in my own name profound and moving gratitude for their noble support which has greatly encouraged us to continue our efforts to achieve our national constitution. The fact that Vietnam categorically rejected our proposal does not mean that this peace proposal is unrealistic or worthless. This is just another example that confirms the Hanoi Vietnamese leaders aredently want to annex Cambodia to include it into Vietnam's Indochina federation with Laos.

There is ample evidence of Vietnam's ambition which has been planned by the Vietnamese Communist Party since 1930. Although Hanoi has repeatedly denied it, new evidence of Vietnam's insatiable expansionist ambition emerges every day. On 28 June, Heng Samrin, ringleader of the clique propped up by Vietnam, said this: We are proud that our party was born from the Indochinese Communist Party. Furthermore, in the language Vietnam uses in every article and statement, Vietnam always refers to the three Indochinese countries, to the Indochinese bloc, or the special Vietnam-Cambodia-Laos special relations. These words are just the plain language of Vietnam's Indochina federation. The Hanoi authorities set themselves up as masters and decide everything. The so-called conference of the Indochinese foreign ministers and other meetings were just Vietnam-staged theatrical pieces in which other puppets play the role of out and out lackeys who carry out whatever their masters say. It is with the aim of achieving this stinking Vietnam's Indochina federation that the Hanoi leaders stubbornly persist in staying in Cambodia even if they have to shed blood and face disasters in Cambodia as well as in Vietnam.

Having failed in the past 8 years to achieve this ambition through military means, the Hanoi leaders have done their best to achieve this goal through diplomacy aimed at dividing and ruling, namely splitting and weakening the national resistance forces in order to force them to surrender and accept Vietnam's act of aggression in Cambodia as a fait accompli. This is also designed to split and weaken international support for our struggle. This is why Vietnam is talking about peaceful negotiations, national reconciliation among Cambodians, respect for the Cambodian people's right to self-determination, an independent, neutral, and nonaligned Cambodia, annual partial troop withdrawal, and the complete withdrawal of all Vietnamese aggressors forces in 1990, and so on. Vietnam is attempting to make people believe that it is flexible, has a sincere desire for reconciliation, reasonable, and finally agrees to abide by the international community's request which calls for a political solution to the Cambodian problem.

However, careful examination of Vietnam's various statements reveals the opposite. One will see Vietnam's deceitful nature which uses the above language only to cover up its views which are in complete contrast to others. By talks to resolve the Cambodian issue politically, the Hanoi authorities mean talks between the so-called three Indochinese countries, namely Vietnam's Indochina federation, and ASEAN, which is a third party. This is atrap into which the ASEAN countries will never fall. Moreover, people wonder how can Vietnam arrive at talks for a political solution to the Cambodian problem if it stubbornly persists in rejecting talks with the only party it is fighting, namely the CGDK. Vietnam talks about reconciliation among Cambodians but demands the elimination of one of tripartite partners and asks the other two partners to surrender to the so-called PRK. This national reconciliation a la Vietnamese is certainly aimed at destroying the government recognized by the United Nations and the international community as the sole, legitimate, and rightful government of Cambodia.

If this trick is successful, Vietnam and its accomplices will say that the United Nations has no reason to discuss the Cambodian issue, and Cambodia's seat in the United Nations will automatically go to the puppet regime in Phnom Penh. Vietnam's maneuver is as clear as daylight, and it cannot therefore dupe international public opinion.

Vietnam's statement on respect for the Cambodian people's right to self-determination is deceitful because the Cambodian people can only achieve their sacred right when all Vietnamese forces are withdrawn from Cambodia. As for Vietnam's statement that the so-called PRK of its puppets in Phnom Penh is independent, neutral, and nonaligned--the least one can say is that Vietnam's view of the meaning of the words independence, neutrality, and nonalignment is obviously different from that of the international community. As everyone knows, the pupper regime in Phnom Penh is tied to the Hanoi Vietnamese authorities by the framework of special solidarity and friendship, the plain language of Vietnam's Indochina Federation.

Therefore, Vietnam's statement on the annual partial troop withdrawal and the complete withdrawal in 1990 is just a propaganda ploy which can no longer dupe anybody. We have repeatedly said, and international public opinion agrees with us, that the so-called annual partial troop withdrawal is not just troop rotation but also a maneuver to cover up the annual troop reinforcement from Vietnam to fill the increasingly serious losses and to reinforce Vietnamese forces which are facing the tremendous progress of our national resistance movement. As for the so-called complete troop withdrawal in 1990, the ASIAWEEK magazine of 3 August 1986, in an article entitled "Vietnam's Problem in 1990" wrote: When the 1986 rainy season arrives, Vietnam's offensive this year seems to have ended a lot worse than in previous years. The withdrawal planned for the next 4 years seems to face more problems. Vietnamese Deputy Foreign Minister Hoang Bich Son recently told ASIAWEEK: we will complete the troop withdrawal in 1990 but at the same time, we have also said that if the situation requires, and if the Cambodian Government--namely the pupper regime in Phnom Penh--requires, we will discuss the issue of sending back our forces. And we have promised that we will return if necessary.

So, Vietnam has not yet pulled out from Cambodia but already has started to make preparations to return to Cambodia! In the past, Vietnamese leaders have clearly shown to the world that promises and respecting them are two different things. Vietnam has never honored its promises whether these were agreed upon in writing or solemnly proclaimed. For example, take the 1954 Geneva Agreement, the 1962 agreement concering Laos, the 1973 Paris Agreement, the solemn declaration in 1967 that Vietnam respects Cambodia's territorial integrity in its present border, or Pham Van Dong's promise in September 1978 to ASEAN that Vietnam will not commit aggression against Cambodia. This shows that to Hanoi, diplomacy is just a means to serve strategic and military goals within the framework of Vietnam's expans-onist policy.

Currently, under increasingly strong pressure both from the nationalist resistance forces and the international community, Vietnam has to make this kind of promise with the aim of duping world public opinion. However, Vietnam is not ready and will certainly not be ready to abandon in 1990 its ambition of annexing Cambodia into its Indochina federation unless the struggle of the Cambodian people and the pressure of the international community force it to do so in the end.

The Soviet Union could contribute toward this goal because everyone knows that Vietnam cannot continue its war of aggression and occupation in Cambodia without enormous assistance from the Soviet Un ion. This is why we appeal to the Soviet Union, a permanent member of the UN Security Council responsible for safeguarding international peace and security in accordance with the UN Charter, to heed the just demand and make Vietnam return to reason. As long as the Soviet Union does not stop supporting Vietnam's expansionist and aggressive policy, particularly the aggression and occupation of Cambodia, it cannot convince anyone in Asia and the Pacific region of its desire to establish friendly relations and to eliminate what it calls mutual distrust and doubt. It is not by deceitful and oft repeated statements on peace, disarmament, friendship, and so on that the Soviet Union can affirm its good will; it is not by burying the Cambodian issue, resulting from Vietnam's act of aggression and occupation in Cambodia, that the Soviet Union can establish peace, security, and stability in Southeast Asia.

The Samdech continued: With the aim of occupying Cambodia forever and strengthening the Indochina federation, Vietnam has launched a vast propaganda campaign to slander the nationalist CGDK and praise the Heng Samin puppet regime Vietnam has propped up in Phnom Penh. This campaign always praises the miraculous rebirth of the so-called PRK, the so-called economic, cultural, and social development, and peace and security throughout the country which Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach refers to as the entire cake under the control of the puppet regime in Phnom Penh.

Given this slanderous propaganda, reasonable people ask, why do the Hanoi authorities refuse to withdraw the roughly 200,000 of their force from Cambodia which have, during the past 8 years, devoured the Vietnam's human and material sources, making that country, once the symbol of the struggle for national independence, the most disgraced country in the world? Why does the Soviet Union continue to shoulder the burden of assistance to Vietnam, assistance which has become heavier and heavier each year. Vietnam cannot answer this question without backtracking on its words because the truth is quite the opposite.

The Samdech said: I do not care about the arrogant and insolent propaganda of Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyeh Co Thach saying that the Phnom Penh puppets control the whole Cambodian cake because everyone knows that the Phnom Penh puppets do not control anything, not even themselves. Everything is decided and carried out by Vietnamese advisers and Vietnamese forces. These Vietnamese only control major cities and some road segments, forcing the people to live in strategic villages fenced in by barbed wire and minefields to prevent them from going out to work. The Vietnamese are afraid that the people will contact the resistance forces.

The Samdech went on to quote many articles by Mrs Marie-Alexandrine Martin describing the situation in Cambodia under Vietnamese occupation.

The Samdech then said: Since 1984, Vietnam has rounded up hundreds of thousands of people, both male and female, between 2 and 3 months each time per year, to build military structures along Cambodia's western border, transport supplies and war materiel to Vietnamese troops, clear forests, build roads, clear mines, dig trenches, and build fences with the aim of cutting off our transport lines and trapping our forces inside the country. As a result, tens of thousands of people have died because of mines, malaria, and other diseases; many tens of thousands more, upon returning to their villages, were very thin and weak. This Vietnamese forced labor has prevented an important segment of the workforce from working the land, and this has seriously affected rice production.

As a result, this miraculous rebirth of Cambodia under Vietnamese control means that Cambodia--once a country which used to export paddy—has become an international beggar of paddy. In 1984, the FAO estimated that Cambodia needed 177,000 metric tons of rice. In 1985, the World Food Program estimated that Cambodia needed 400,000 metric tons of rice. The Vietnamese propaganda machine is bizarre. It is not ashamed of backtracking on its words and thereby exposing its tricks. In an attempt to legitimize its act of aggression and occupation in Cambodia, Vietnam talks about a miraculous rebirth. However, when it needs food assistance for its aggressor forces, it says that the Cambodian people are seriously short of food and forces its puppets in Phnom Penh to beg for international assistance. This assistance, if it were given, would only have been used to feed the Vietnamese aggressor stroops because, as in previous years, assistance is not distributed to needy Cambodians.

Draft, forced labor, famine, and most barbarous oppression, not to mention attacks by Vietnamese troops, during the past 8 years have caused the death of many hundreds of thousands of Cambodians; many more were forced to flee their ancestral homeland and villages to seek security in zones controlled by our government or flee to Thailand. The Hanoi Vietnamese authorities have sent more than 700,000 Vietnamese nationals to settle on our rich land in various cities and along various rivers to replace our people. Vietnam's aim is to keep increasing the number of Vietnamese nationals to 2 million in the next 4 to 5 years. Every month, thousands of Vietnamese families arrive in Cambodia. As Mrs Marie-Alexandrine Martin observes, high-ranking puppet officials say that hordes of Vietnamese nationals enter Cambodia at night without even informing the Cambodian puppet authorities. Relevant services of the people's revolutionary committee in Phnom Penh had to meet in the middle of the night to hurriedly discuss the Vietnamese nationals issue to avoid foreigners from learning about the arrival of these new Vietnamese nationals. People who are not aware of the arrival of Vietnamese nationals will know about it because sometimes they see new houses occupied by Vietnamese in areas in which a few days earlier there were no houses.

In the middle of 1985, people in Phnom Penh were directly ordered to leave their houses to Vietnamese nationals. Phnom Penh citizens were sent to rural areas; sometimes, they escaped to the border. During the recent population census, many new identity cards were noticed. Vietnamese authorities often carried out control and raids on people. All this seems to be in preparation for gradually making Phnom Penh into a Vietnamese city with only sufficient numbers of Cambodian administrative staff. As for roads and places in the capital, Vietnamese authorities have already changed and renamed them in Vietnamese. As for the so-called various agreements and treaties said to have been signed by the Vietnamese masters and their servants in Phnom Penh in the economic, financial, social, cultural, technical fields, and on border, and so on, they are just theatrical farces like the conferences or meetings of the so-called three Indochinese countries. These were aimed, on the one hand, at showing the world the legitimacy of the puppet regime in Phnom Penh and, on the other, at laying the foundations for Vietnam's annexation of Cambodian territory.

For example, through the so-called border delimitation agreement of 1983, Vietnam has moved the Cambodia-Vietnam maritime boundary called the Brevie Line--set up in 1939--deeper inside Cambodia. Through this, Vietnam has plundered a vast part of the Cambodian territorial waters abundant in oil. As for the land territory, since the invasion of Cambodia, the Hanoi authorities have moved the border demarcation mark 3 to 5 km deeper inside Cambodia.

The Samdech went on: This is the real situation in Cambodia. The Vietnamese have declared that the situation in Cambodia is irreversible. This means that the Vietnamese have never thought of allowing the Cambodian people to decide their own destiny. They do not want Cambodia to become an independent, free, unified, peaceful, mentral, and nonaligned country. However, since 1979, despite the fact that the Soviet Union's daily aid has increased to $6 million, Vietnamese troops are still deeply bogged down in Cambodia. Therefore, it seems that the situation in Cambodia, at home, and in the international arena, the Vietnamese have been stubborn and have not softened their stand. This clearly proves that they want to stay in Cambodia and Laos forever in accordance with the traditionally expansionist and colonialist ambition of the north Vietnamese in their southward march to realize their unlimited covetousness to seek bigger land for serving their economy and their livelihood. In this march, the Vietnamese swallowed up the islamic empire of Champa which is currently known as central Vietnam. Later they swallowed our Kampuchea Kraom land, 65,000 square km, which is now known as South Vietnam. Due to this Vietnamese strategic design, we have surmised that our struggle will be protracted and full of many more sacrifices like our past struggle against the colonialists. This is because this new imperialism is very cruel and tricky.

Confronting this life-and-death danger to the survival of our people, our nation, and our culture and civilization represented by the wonderful Angkor Wat temple--the heritage of all mankind--we have no other alternative but to unite and carry on our patriotic struggle. Freedom is the loftiest moral principle that each individual, each people, and each nation must have the same right to enjoy. Vietnam cannot and will never be able to deprive Cambodia of this right. It cannot deprive the Cambodian people of this right nor prevent them from launching all forms of struggle, including the armed struggle, in order to seize back this inalienable, lofty moral principle. For our survival, we have pledged to constantly make efforts to increase and strengthen our national unity and realize our national reconciliation without eliminating anyone or any party, particularly any party in the tripartite CGDK. Moreover, the three parties have resolutely enhanced their unity and pledged that after the liberation of their country they will jointly unite within the great national union and national reconciliation in building and defending Cambodia. From now on, we are ready to accept various new factions, including the current group of individuals installed by the Vietnamese. However, it is only if, after the withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, they agree to work with us for the progress and prosperity of a Cambodia which is independent, unified, peaceful, neutral, and nonaligned, and pursues a liberal and democratic system and respects human rights. National unity is and will always be our main weapon for opposing the enemies. It is the most essential factor for our victory, that is our national survival at present and in the future. Obviously, our enemies will continue their maneuvers to obstruct the progress of this unity. We will not let the enemies realize these maneuvers. Otherwise they will affect not only our struggle but also the restoration of peace, security, and stability in Southeast Asia. We regard our national union policy as our patriotic mission as well as our duty toward the world community.

The irreversability of the current situation in Cambodia is really the progress and increase of our national unity. Whether the Vietnamese like it or not, we will certainly be able to build an independent, unified, neutral, and nonaligned Cambodia within the framework of national reconciliation, because to all Cambodians this is a matter of life and death.

Our 8-point proposal has displayed our sincere belief in this and defined our will to make the longest march possible regarding this path of reconciliation and peace. This is because we want a political settlement of the Cambodian problem, which is comprehensive, must, and long-lasting both for us, the victims, and the Vietnamese, the aggressors. We believe that generosity is to bring about justice and not to beg for justice. As a matter of fact, although the Vietnamese leaders, through their aggressive acts against Cambodia, are war criminals like Hitler and the Nazis, we will not seek to revenge, punishment, or war reparations. On the contrary, we propose the restoration of good relationship on the basis of peaceful coexistence for the well-being of our two peoples. We cannot offer anything more than the concessions we have made. Otherwise, it would seem as if we are handing over our country on a silver tray to the Vietnamese. By so doing, it would mean that we totally give up our struggle of the past nearly 8 years, which is developing favorably thanks to the significant contributions by the peace-loving countries and personages in the world who have constantly and increasingly supported us.

In conclusion, the Samdech expressed, on behalf of the Cambodian people and the CGDK, profound adn sincere gratitude to the United Nations and delegates of the various UN member countries which cherish peace and justice, for supporting us in our struggle during the past 8 consecutive years, particularly the ASEAN countries, Thailand, China, and the secretary general of the United Nations.

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VODK CONDEMNS SRV-USSR MILITARY COLLUSION

BK111026 (Clandestine) Voice of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2330 GMT 10 Nov 86

[Station commentary: "Eight Years of the Evil Military Treaty Between Vietnam and the Soviet Union"]

[Text] On 3 November 1978, 8 years ago, the Hanoi authorities signed a military treaty with the Soviet Union in order to get political support and military aid from the Soviet Union, such as tanks, artillery, and ammunition, to conduct a war of aggression and occupation against Cambodia. Their criminal goal is to annex Cambodia to set up an abject Indochinese federation of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia controlled by Vietnam. After forming this federation, the Vietnamese would strengthen their position and advance toward committing aggression and expansion against other countries in Southeast Asia in an attempt to dominate the whole of Southeast Asia. As for the Soviet Union, it wants to use this Vietnamese controlled Indochinese federation as its frontline post and a springboard for implementing its global expansion strategy in Southeast Asia and the whole of the Asia-Pacific region. AT that time, both Vietnam and the Soviet Union fully hoped that they would be able to invade and swallow up Cambodia quietly in accordance with their blitzkrieg strategy. Therefore, the Soviet Union agreed to supply Vietnam with tanks, artillery, and thousands of metric tons of ammunition so as to enable Vietnam to take over Cambodia in a single stroke.

Now, 8 years have elapsed. How has the Vietnamese-Soviet glee turned? This year, the Vietnamese enemies marked the 8th anniversary of the SRV-USSR military treaty in a state of bitter defeats and at a time when they have been bogged down in all aspects everywhere, on the battlefield of aggression against Cambodia, in Vietnam, and in the international arena.

On the Cambodian battlefield, the Vietnamese are being attacked vigorously by our Democratic Kampuchean National Army and all other Cambodian patriotic resistance forces. They have suffered greater losses in terms of manpower, weaponry, war materiel, and large and small positions. The Vietnamese soldiers have become greatly demoralised and lost the will to fight. At the same time, the entire Cambodian people and even those Cambodian soldiers and Cambodian administrators who have been forced to serve the Vietnamese have nurtured greater indignation against the Vietnamese enemies. They have opposed and jointly turned against the Vietnamese enemies more vigorously with each passing day. Briefly speaking, on the Cambodian battlefield, the Vietnamese enemies have been inextricably bogged down and faced all kinds of serious difficulties. They have been encircled and attacked from all directions by our National Army, people, and fraternal Cambodian soldiers and patriotic administrators.

In Vietnam, the Vietnamese enemies have been facing all kinds of serious crises--economic, social, and political. Vietnam's economy is worsening to the point of total doom. National resources have been ruined only because of their war of aggression in Cambodia. While prices of goods are rising sharply, the value of the Vietnamese dong currency has continually dropped to the point that recently the Hanoi authorities were compelled to devalue it by 530 percent. Meanwhile, the Vietnamese people's living conditions have worsened even more to the point that they are unhappy with and oppose the Hanoi authorities even more vigorously. Even with the increase in its aid from $8 million a day, still the Soviet Union has been unable to help rescue the Vietnamese from the ruin caused by their war of aggression against Cambodia. On the contrary, the Vietnamese have suffered more vigorously. At this year's UN General Assembly, the Vietnamese became extremely isolated. This is unprecedented in their history.

The Soviet Union, which has joined the Vietnamese in their war of aggression against Cambodia, has also suffered greatly due to the Vietnamese burden added to its burden in Afghanistan and other areas. How long will the Soviet Union tolerate this Vietnamese burden? Vietnam and the Soviet Union should have realized these facts. Vietnam should not dream that it will be able to swallow up Cambodia. It could not swallow up Cambodia in 1979 when it was overjoyed at its victories. How can it do so now when it is in such serious difficulty? Therefore, Vietnam and the Soviet Union should come to their senses. If they want to save themselves from these difficulties, Vietnam and the Soviet Union should listen to the just call of the world community by putting an end to their war of aggression against Cambodia and immediately withdraw all Vietnamese troops from Cambodia in accordance with the UN resolutions. Otherwise, all these difficulties will drag the Vietnamese toward total doom.

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COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

VOK REPORTS SRV BOATS AMBUSHED IN TONLE SAP 15 OCTOBER

BK030740 (Clandestine) Voice of the Khmer in Cambodian 0500 GMT 3 Nov 86

[Text] A report from the KPNLF command says that KPNLF soldiers destroyed 16 Vietnamese transport boats in an ambush at the entrance to Tonle Sap Kake when they were transporting goods from the mouth of Kabal Kou River in Moung Russei District, Battambang Province, to Krakor District, Pursat Province.

This report says that the ambush took place on 15 October at 0900 [0200 GMT] in a boat operation by the KPNLF forces. The report adds that a number of the 20 Vietnamese soldiers assigned to protect the boats were killed. The report does not reveal the losses of the KPNLF forces.

At the same time, a newspaper reports that Vietnamese forces will step up operations against all Cambodian resistance forces in Cambodia in the upcoming dry season. An Australian reporter quoted a statement by Sok Pheap, commander of the DK Army's 450th Division, saying that Vietnamese soldiers will launch operations to search and attack various bases of Cambodian resistance forces. In an interview with David Nason, an Australian reporter who recently went into Cambodia and was wounded, Sok Pheap said Vietnamese forces will use more aircraft than previously. However, Cambodian resistance forces have already prepared for this.

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COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

VONADK BATTLE REPORTS FOR 31 OCTOBER-6 NOVEMBER

BK070501 [Editorial Report] (Clandestine) Voice of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian monitored by Bangkok Bureau during the reporting period 31 October-6 November carried the following battle reports:

VONADK at 2315 GMT on 31 October reports that DK forces shelled Banteay Ampil district seat in Siem Reap Province with 107-mm rockets on 23 October; attacked the Vietnamese village and commune administrative networks in Samraony Tong and Bati districts of Takeo Province on 21 and 24 October, in Sot Nikom, Siem Reap, and Chikreng districts of Siem Reap Province on 21, 19 and 14 October respectively, in Baray district of Kompong Thom Province on 18 October, and in Chamka Leu district of Kompong Cham Province on 25 Octiber; and conducted various other guerrilla activities on Battambang, Southwest Phnom Penh, North Sisophon, Route 4, and Siem Reap battlefields between 13 and 26 October, killing or wounding 70 Vietnamese soldiers; destroying 11 village and 4 commune administrative networks, 9 weapons, 5 commune office buildings, 1 motor vehicle, 1 rice mill, 2 paddy and rice warehouses, 1 bridge, 20 barracks, and some war materiel; seizing 11 weapons and some war materiel; and liberating 4 villages and 500 people on Siem Reap battlefield, 2 villages on Kompong Thom battlefield, and 3 villages on Kompong Cham battlefield.

According to VONADK at 2315 GMT on 1 November, DK forces attacked the Vietnamese village and commune administrative networks in Udong district on Kompong Speu battlefield on 22 October, in Toek Phos district on Kompong Chhnang battlefield on 20 October, in Tuk Meas district on Kampot battlefield on 27 October, in Leach district on Leach battlefield on 20 October, and in Sangke district on 26 October; ambushed a Vietnamese battalion in Thmar Puok district on 28 October and Vietnamese company and platoon units in Pich Chenda district on Mondolkiri battlefield on 20 October and in Sre Ambel district on Kampot battlefield on 23 October; and conducted various other guerrilla activities on Koh Kong Kraom, Koh Kong Leu, Southwest Phnom Penh, Kompong Chhnang, Moung, North Sisophon, and Samlot battlefields between 20 and 28 October, killing or wounding 97 enemy soldiers; destroying 11 village and 1 commune administrative networks, 20 weapons, 3 village offices, 2 vehicles, 3 boats, 2 motor boats, 1 barracks, and some war materiel; and liberating 9 villages on Kompong Chhnang battlefield.

VONADK at 2315 GMT on 2 November reports that DK forces attacked the Vietnamese administrative networks in Baray district on Kompong Thom battlefield on 25 and 27 October; ambushed a Vietnamese regiment in Puok District on Siem Reap battlefield on 26 October; and conducted various other guerrilla activities on Siem Reap, Koh Kong Leu, and Leach battlefields between 23 and 29 October, killing or wounding 26 enemy soldiers; dismantling 12 village administrative networks; and seizing 2 rifles and some ammunition and war materiel.

According to VONADK at 2315 GMT on 3 November, DK forces ambushed Vietnamese soldiers in Bakan district on Pursat battlefield on 28 October, in Moung district on 31 October, and in Phnum Srok district of Battambang Province on 26 October; cut railroad tracks on Kompong Chhnang battlefield on 25 October; and conducted other guerrilla actions on Moung-Pursat, Kompong Echhnang, North Sisophon, and Kompong Thom battlefields between 23 and 31 October, killing or wounding 76 Vietnamese soldiers; destroying 45 assorted weapons, 17 boats, and 250 meters of railroad track; seizing 2 boats and some ammunition and war materiel; and freeing hundreds of people who have been forced to work on 4 Noon North Sisophon battlefield.

According to VONADK at 2315 GMT on 4 November, DK forces attacked the Vietnamese village and commune administrative networks in Samraong Tong district on 30 October, in Kandal Stoeng district on Kandal battlefield on 28 October, in Sandan and Santuk districts on Kompong Tom battlefield on 28 and 31 October, in Moung district on Moung-Pursat battlefield on 27 October, and in Kompong Tralach district on Kompong Chhnang battlefield on 30 October; ambushed a Vietnamese battalion in Bakan district of Pursat Province on 1 November; and conducted various other actions on Kompong Thom, Moung-Pursat, Leach, East Battambang, and West Battambang battlefield between 25 October and 1 November, killing or wounding 71 Vietnamese soldiers; destroying 1 commune and 5 village administrative networks, 14 weapons, 1 commune office building, 1 truck, 2 boats, 6 barracks and some war materiel; seizing some war materiel; and liberating 5 villages on Kompong Thom battlefield.

VONADK at 2315 GMT on 5 November reports that DK forces attacked the Vietnamese administrative networks in Santuk district on 2 November and in Sangke district on 29 October; ambushed a Vietnamese battalion in Santuk district on Kompong Thom battlefield and a truck moving from Treng to Samlot district on Samlot battlefield on 28 October; and conducted other guerrilla activities on Samlot, Southwest Phnom Penh, South Sisophon, and North Sisophon battlefields between 26 and 31 October, killing or wounding 79 Vietnamese soldiers; destroying 6 village administrative networks, 15 weapons, 2 trucks, and some war materiel; and seizing some war materiel.

VONADK at 2315 GMT on 6 November reports that DK forces attacked the Vietnamese administrative networks in Puok and Sot Nikom districts on Siem Reap battlefield on 27 October, in Cheung Prey and Prey Chhor districts on Kompong Cham battlefield on 1 and 2 November, and in Sandan district on Kompong Thom battlefield on 29 October and 1 and 3 November; ambushed a Vietnamese company in Baray district on 30 October; cut 4 sections of railroad track in Prey Nop district on Kompong Som battlefield on 27 October; and conducted various other guerrilla activities on Kompong Som, Southwest Phnom Penh, and Siem Reap battlefields between 27 October and 2 November, killing or wounding 25 Vietnamese soldiers; destroying 3 commune and 11 village administrative networks, 7 guns, 1 commune office building, and 120 meters of railroad track; seizing some war materiel; and liberating 8 villages on Siem Reap battlefield and 7 villages on Kompong Thom battlefield.

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VONADK-VIETNAMESE IN KOMPONG SPEU ATTACKED 3 NOVEMBER

BK080126 (Clandestine) Voice of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2315 GMT 7 Nov 86

[From the "Report From Various Battlefields" feature]

[Excerpts] On the night of 3 November, our National Army, in cooperation with people and nationalist Cambodian soldiers forced to serve the Vietnamese, launched a 2-pronged attack on a Vietnamese company position at Damnak Smach railway station in Udong District [Kompong Speu Province]. The first prong attacked the Vietnamese company position at Damnak Smach station and the second attacked and dismantled Vietnamese administrative authorities in Veal Pong commune in Udong District.

After a 15-minute battle, we completely liberated the two fronts. We killed 19 Vietnamese enemy soldiers on the spot, including a provincial policeman and 2 provincial officials; destroyed 40 assorted weapons, including 15 RPD's, 15 AK's, 10 AR-15's, a Jeep, 3 motorcycles, 20 bicycles, 10 mines, 2 C-25 field radios, 10 telephones, 3 commune office buildings, 10 barracks, and some war materiel; seized 10 weapons, including an RPD, 4 SK rifles, 2 AK's, 3 AR-15's, and some war materiel; and liberated 7 villages: Damnak Smach, Vat Kdei, Chamka Dong, Sdok Kraol, Andong Chambak, Sre Russei, and Trapeang Angkrong.

The next morning, the Vietnamese enemy sent some soldiers to rescue their comrades. However, we ambushed them and killed nine and wounded three others; the rest fled.

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VODK-ASEAN PROTESTS AUSTRALIAN OFFICE IN PHNOM PENH

BK050149 (Clandestine) Voice of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2330 GMT 4 Nov 86

["News commentary": "ASEAN Protests Australia Opening an Office in Phnom Penh"]

[Text] On 2 October, Australia opened an unofficial office in Phnom Penh. The ASEAN countries have strongly protested against and opposed this Australian action.

Since its invasion and occupation of Cambodia, the Hanoi Vietnamese enemy aggressors have been carrying out all kinds of maneuvers in an attempt to get their puppets in Phnom Penh, propped up by Vietnamese guns, recognized and through this, legitimize Vietnam's act of aggression in Cambodia. However, these manuevers have been rejected and vehemently opposed by various countries in the region and the international community.

The UN General Assembly, in particular, has adopted successive resolutions with an increasingly overwhelming majority of votes, 116 votes this year, demanding that Vietnam unconditionally withdraw all its aggressor forces from Cambodia to let the Cambodian people decide their own destiny themselves. This resolution clearly shows that the entire international community rejects and vigorously opposes the regime propped up by Vietnam in Phnom Penh.

Therefore, Australia's opening of the so-called office is an inappropriate action completely against the UN resolution which calls for the withdrawal of all Vietnamese aggressor forces from Cambodia to let the Cambodian people decide their own destiny themselves.

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LEADERS THANK CGDK FOR YE JIANYING CONDOLENCES

BK110905 (Clandestine) Voice of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2315 GMT 10 Nov 86

[Replies from Chinese leaders to their counterparts in the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, CGDK, on Marshal Ye Jianying's death--dated 3 November]

[Text] To Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, president of Democratic Kampuchea; His Excellency Son Sann, CGDK prime minister; His Excellency Khieu Samphan, vice president of Democratic Kampuchea in charge of foreign affairs:

We would like to express sincere and wholehearted thanks to the Samdech and your excellencies for the profound condolences you sent on the death of His Excellency Ye Jianying, former president of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the PRC. This clearly shows the sentiments of the Samdech, your excellencies, and the Cambodian people for the Chinese people.

[Dated] Beijing, 3 November 1986

[Signed] Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee; Deng Xiaoping, president of the CPC Central Advisory Commission; Li Xiannian, president of the PRC; Zhao Ziyang, prime minister of the PRC's State Council; Deng Yingchao, president of the CPPCC.

On the same occasion, His Excellency Wu Xueqian, PRC foreign minister, sent a message to His Excellency Vice President Khieu Samphan. The message says in substance:

To His Excellency Kheiu Samphan, vice president of Democratic Kampuchea in charge of foreign affairs: I would like to express gratitude for your profound condolences on the death of his Excellency Ye Jianying, former president of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the PRC.

[Dated] Beijing, 3 November 1986.

[Signed] Wu Xueqian, adviser of the Council of State and foreign minister of the PRC.

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COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

BRIEFS

MAT LY RECEIVES SRV OFFICIAL CONGRATULATIONS--Comrade Mat Ly, chairman of the Cambodian Committee for Solidarity and Friendship With People, recently received a congratulatory message from Comrade Hoang Minh Giam, chairman of the Presidium of the Vietnamese Committee for Solidarity and Friendship With People. The message says in substance: On the occasion of the establishment of Cambodian Committee for Solidarity and Friendship With People with you as chairman, we would like to send you warmest congratulations. May you enjoy good health and score great success in your noble task. May the relations and cooperation between our two countries' committees further develop in the future. [Text] [Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 0430 GMe 4 Nov 86] BK] /9274

FUNCINPEC'S PRINCE RANNARIT LEAVES FOR FRANCE--A FUNCINPEC [National United Front for an Independent, Peaceful, Neutral, and Cooperative Cambodia] spokesman said that Prince Norodom Rannarit, personal representative of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk to Cambodia and Asia and commander in chief of the Sihanoukist National Army, left Bangkok this morning for a week-long visit to France. Um Roland, FUNCINPEC spokesman said that Prince Norodom Rannarit was expected to make a statement to diplomats in France dealing with the political and military situation in Cambodia at present on 6 November. Um Roland went on to say that Prince Norodom Rannarit was to meet with several French Government officials and before returning to Bangkok he would also meet with the Cambodian association in France. [Text] [(Clandestine) Voice of the Khmer in Cambodian 0500 GMT 4 Nov 86 BK] /9274

SRV FAMILIES SETTLE IN KAMPOT--On 20 October, the Vietnamese enemies sent 68 families of Vietnamese nationals to settle in Tuk Meas District of Kampot Province, 38 families settled in Rung Veng commune and 30 others settled in Dang Tong commune. These Vietnamese settlers have confiscated our people's property, land, and crops, and set up groups to monitor our people's movement and bully our people at will. [Text] [(Clandestine) Voice of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2315 GMT 9 Nov 86 BK] /9274

VIETNAMESE FAMILIES SETTLE IN KAMPOT--On 20 October, the Vietnamese enemy brough 30 Vietnamese families to settle in Rong Veng village and another 38 families in Dang Tong commune in Tuk Meas District, Kampot Province. As soon as they arrived, these families set up committees and officials to investigate and check our people's rice and paddy so that these resources could be readily plundered to feed the Vietnamese settlers. [Excerpts] [(Clandestine) Voice of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2300 GMT 4 Nov 86 BK] /9274

CSO: 4212/9

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

SPECIAL ENVOY'S ACTIVITIES IN MANAGUA REPORTED

BK120723 Phnom Penh SPK in French 0416 GMT 12 Nov 86

[Text] Phnom Penh, 12 Nov (SPK)--Arriving in Managua on 6 November to attend the celebration of the 25th founding anniversary of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in his capacity as the special envoy of President Heng Samrin, Ros Chhun was welcomed at the airport by, among others, Cdte Tomas Borge, minister of interior, and Javier Chamoro, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

The following day, Ros Chhun, also alternate member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and secretary general of the Kampuchean United Front for National Construction and Defense National Council, was invited to a conference on the military and security situation of Nicaragua before going to lay a wreath at the tomb of Carlos Foncesca, founder of FSLN.

That afternoon he conveyed to Cdte Henry Ruiz, member of the national leadership, the message from President Heng Samrin. On this occasion, Henrry Ruiz recalled his impression during his visit to Cambodia last August, on the one hand, regarding the barbarous regime of Pol Pot and, on the other, regarding the considerable efforts of the Cambodian people in national defense and reconstruction.

While reaffirming his principled support to the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Cdte Henry Ruiz of the Nicaraguan revolution said: "The struggle of the Cambodian people is the same as that being waged by the Nicaraguan people. It is continuing firmly against the enemies of all stripes of the revolution for the independence, liberty, and well-being of our people."

In conclusions, Cdte Henry Ruiz expressed on behalf of the national leadership and particularly of Cdte Daniel Ortega his sincere thanks to President Heng Samrin of the KPRP for honoring them with the presence of a special envoy at the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the FSLN, a historical and political event of great significance at a time when the Reagan administration is threatening peace in Nicaragua and the world.

Also on this occasion, the two sides expressed their desire to further strengthen and develop solidarity between the two countries.

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CSO: 4219/6

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

HUN SEN RECEIVES VISITING CUBAN DELEGATION

BK070901 Phnom Penh SPK in French 0419 GMT 7 Nov 86

[Text] Phnom Penh, 7 Nov (SPK)--Hun Sen, member of the Political Bureau of the KPRP Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and PRK minister of foreign affairs, received the visiting delegation of the Cuban Institute of Radio and Television led by its president, Ismael Gonzales, in Phnom Penh Thursday morning.

Chairman Hun Sen expressed his profound gratitude to the Cuban party and government for their consistent support to the Cambodian people.

After informing his guests of the positive changes taking place in Cambodia, the Cambodian leader stressed the encroachment and subverions undertaken against the Cambodian revolution by the Khmer reactionaries who are supported by Chinese expansionism, U.S. imperialism, and the Thai ruling circles. He stressed the necessity for the Cambodian Government to also give a strong impetus to the propaganda work both inside the country and in the international arena in order to face off the mendacious propaganda and the psychological warfare of the enemies of all stripes.

In his return speech, Ismael Gonzales, a member of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee, said that his visit to Cambodia is certainly a good opportunity to further enhance the all-round cooperation between the two countries, particularly in the field of propaganda. After highly appreciating the successes won in national defense and reconstruction by the Cambodian people, the head of the Cuban delegation expressed his firm belief that under the leadership of the KPRP, the cause of the Cambodian revolution will triumph.

OU the same day, the delegation left Phnom Penh, thus terminating its 3-day visit to Cambodia.

During its stay, the delegation exchanged experiences with Cambodia's Radio and Television Directorate at the end of which an agreement of cooperation in the field of radio and television broadcasting for 1987-90 was signed.

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CSO: 4219/6

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

CHEA SIM RECEIVES PALESTINIAN FRONT DELEGATION

BK070725 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 0430 GMT 7 Nov 86

[Text] Comrade Chea Sim, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau and chairman of the National Assembly and of the KUFNCD National Council, received and had a cordial talk at the Chamka Mon State Palance on the afternoon of 5 November with the delegation of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine [DFLP] led by Comrade Yasir 'Abd Rabbo, Politburo member and assistant secretary-general of the DFLP.

Speaking on that occasion, Comrade Chea Sim expressed a warm welcome to the delegation and said that this visit was a valuable contribution to strengthening and developing the bond of friendship and solidarity between the two peoples of Cambodia and Palestine. Comrade Chea Sim also expressed full support for the Palestinian National Front's struggle against the aggression of the Israeli Zionists.

In his reply, Comrade Yasir 'Abd Rabbo thanked the PRK party and government for providing the opportunity for him to see the realities in Cambodia. The comrade highly valued the all-round development of the Cambodian revolution during the past nearly 8 years. He also voiced full support for the Cambodian people's struggle against the traitorous Cambodian reactionaries supported by the imperialists and hegemonist-expansionists, saying that like the struggle of the Palestinian people, the Cambodian people's struggle is aimed at achieving genuine independence, peace, freedom and happiness.

/9274
CSO: 4212/9

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

BOU THANG MESSAGE TO SOKOLOV ON OCTOBER ANNIVERSARY

BK080428 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 1200 GMT 7 Nov 86

[Text] On the 69th anniversary of the USSR's great socialist October revolution, Comrade Bou Thang, PRK defense minister, sent a message to Comrade Marshal Sokolov, defense minister of the USSR. The message says in substance:

Dear Comrade Minister: On the 69th anniversary of the great socialist October revolution, on behalf of cadres and combatants of the KPRAF and in my own name, I would like to express profound congratulations and rejoice with the entire fraternal Soviet people and armed forces who have been expanding brilliant achievements to welcome this national and historic day.

The historic victory of the great socialist October revolution not only brings independence, freedom, and social progress to the entire Soviet nation and society but also influences oppressed nations and classes the world over and has awakened them to stage revolutions to liberate their countries and nations and build successive socialist states. Under the brilliant light of the Great October Revolution and under the correct leadership of the KPRP, the Cambodian revolution, in particular, people, and the KPRAF, are firmly advancing along a glorious revolutionary socialist path.

I would like to take this opportunity to expsess profound gratitude for the wholehearted assistance, both moral and material, of the USSR party, government, and Defense Ministry for the cause of defending and building our beloved Angkor fatherland.

May the relations of friendship and solidarity and cooperation in every field between our two people and armies remain strong and last forever. May the comrade minister and all cadres and combatants of the Soviet Army enjoy good health and achieve every task set out by the CPSU's 27th Congress.

Please receive our sincere respect and consideration.

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CSO: 4212/9

CHEA SIM RECEIVES NEW BULGARIAN AMBASSADOR 10 NOVEMBER

BK110954 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 0430 GMT 11 Nov 86

[Text] On the morning of 10 November at the Chamka Mon State Palace, Comrade Chea Sim, member of the KPRP Central Committee Political Bureau, chairman of the National Assembly, and chairman of the KUFNCD National Council, received Comrade Leon Yossifov Beraha, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Bulgarian People's Republic, with cordial and very warm sentiments.

Speaking on the occasion, Comrade Chea Sim expressed his joy and wlecomed the ambassador for carrying out its diplomatic mission in the PRK. He also pointed out the winning position of strength of the Cambodian revolution over the past almost 8 years. Comrade Chea Sim said the achievements scored by the Cambodian people cannot be separated from the moral and material assistance of parties, governments, and people of Vietnam, Laos, the Soviet Union, and other fraternal socialist countries, including the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which has made a great contribution.

Replying, Comrade Leon Yossifov Beraha conveyed greetings from the Bulgarian Parliament to Comrade Chea Sim and highly appreciated the development and progress of the PRK. The comrade also recalled the visit by Comrade General Secretary Heng Samrin to Bulgaria and the exchanges of party, government, and mass organization delegations between the two countries, which have expanded the relations of friendship, solidarity, and cooperation between the two countries. The comrade stressed that the People's Republic of Bulgaria supports every resolution and good-will initiative of the three Indochinese countries, particularly the just cause of struggle of the Cambodian people to defend national independence and peace in Southeast Asia. The comrade ambassador also affirmed that he will do his best to successfully carry out his mission in Cambodia.

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CSO: 4212/9

THONG KHON, NGUON NHEL SPEAK AT PHNOM PENH HANDICRAFT MEETING

BK060934 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 0430 GMT 5 Nov 86

[Text] A meeting was opened at the Phnom Penh Theater Hall on the morning of 4 November to assess implementation of the party Political Bureau resolutions dealing with the rehabilitation and development of handicrafts in Phnom Penh.

According to the report presented by Comrade Thong Khon, alternate member of the Party Central Committee and chairman of the Phnom Penh Municipal People's Revolutionary Committee, during the 1st 9 months of 1986 the handicraft sector of Phnom Penh was divided into nine sections made up of 1,687 bases and manned by 7,069 artisans producing more than 100 types of major goods with an estimated value equal to 128 percent of the plan. Compared with 1985, this represented a 58 percent increase.

The comrade went on to say that Phnom Penh is building up the nine solidarity groups for handicraft production into model groups from which experiences can be drawn. These groups are divided into two categories: the first category being made up of five bases and the second category of four bases. The bulk of the products turned out collectively by these solidarity groups are destined for agricultural production. The products include plowshares, sickles, shoes for plows, cart wheel spokes, hooked knives, knives, and axes and materials serving the army, such as rain clothes, oil skins, bicycles, and shoes, whose value is estimated to be 41 percent more than in 1985.

On the same occasion, Comrade Nguon Nhel, alternate member of the Party Central Committee's Political Bureau and secretary of the provisional party committee of Phnom Penh City, urged all participants to attentively listen to reports by various units and to review in depth all the reports presented, discussing practical methods and measures to advance this sector along the economic line of the party so as to contribute to fulfilling the plan in 1987.

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CSO: 4212/9

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

REPORT ON AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS 3-9 NOVEMBER

BK110945 [Editorial Report] Cambodian media monitored by Bangkok Bureau carried the following reports on agricultural developments during the reporting period 3-9 November:

Kandal Province: SPK in English at 1055 GMT on 3 November reports that by the end of this year, peasants in Koh Thom District expect to sell some 700 metric tons of maize to the district's trade service.

Battambang Province: Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian at 1300 GMT on 3 November reports that during the 1st 8 months of this year, the veterinary service of Battambang Province vaccinated more than 91,270 oxen, buffaloes, hogs, and chickens against various diseases.

Kompong Speu Province: Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian at 0430 GMT on 3 November reports that by mid-October, peasants had broadcast and transplanted nearly 49.800 hectares of various types of rice out of the planned 78,420 hectares; more than 540 hectares of early rice had also been harvested with an average yield of more than 3 metric tons per hectare. Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian at 1300 GMT on 5 November reports that by 23 October, peasants in Udong District had transplanted nearly 10,250 hectares of various types of rice and put nearly 700 hectares under subsidiary food crops.

Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian at 0430 GMT on 6 November reports that by mid-October, peasants in Phnum Srok District had sowed and transplanted more than 5,600 hectares of various types of rice or 70 percent of the plan. The radio at 1300 GMT on 9 November reports that by mid-October, peasants in Thpong District had transplanted and broadcast 2,800 hectares of various types of rice or more than 73 percent of the plan. SPK in French at 0437 GMT on 9 November reports that peasants in Kong Pisei District are striving to plant rice on 10,337 hectares of land.

Siem Reap-Oddar Meanchey Province: Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian at 0430 GMT on 3 November reports that by the end of the 1986 transplanting season, peasants in Siem Reap District had planted 11,140 hectares of rainy season rice or 95 percent of the plan. The radio at 0430 GMT on 7 November reports that during the 1st 9 months of this year, the veterinary service in the province had vaccinated more than 146,000 oxen and buffalo against various diseases. SPK in French at 0437 GMT on 9 November reports that during the last rainy season, peasants in the province planted 143,300 hectares of various types of rice.

Kompong Thom Province: Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian at 1300 GMT on 3 November reports that during the 1st 9 months of this year, peasants had put more than 2,350 hectares under cassava and sweet potato, planted more than 637,100 bushes of potatoes, and put more than 1,550 hectares under industrial crops. The radio at 0430 GMT on 4 November reports that in 1986 peasants in Baray District have planted more than 26,620 hectares of rice. Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian at 1300 GMT on 9 November reports that by 30 September, the trade service in Kompong Thom Province had brought more than 3,300 metric tons of paddy from the peasants.

Stung Treng Province: Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian at 1300 GMT on 3 November reports that during the 1st 9 months of 1986, peasants in the province planted 9,241 hectares of crops, 8,000 hectares of monsoon rice, 6,915 hectares of slash-and-burn rice, and 11,019 hectares of subsidiary food crops. They also plowed 6,819 hectares of land or 86 percent of plan.

Kompong Som Municipality: Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian at 0430 GMT on 4 November reports that peasants in Prey Nop District planted nearly 70 percent of rainy season rice and 336 hectares of potatoes, more than 110 hectares of corn, and almost 200 hectares of sugar cane this rainy season. The radio at 1300 GMT on 4 November reports that in the past 10 months of this year, peasants in Kompong Som City had put 8,000 hectares under monsoon rice and planted more than 250 hectares of subsidiary food and industrial crops.

Kompong Cham Province: Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian at 0430 GMT on 5 November reports that by mid-October, peasants in Kroch Chhma District had transplanted more than 1,400 hectares of various types of rice and planted more than 450 hectares of beans, more than 1,600 hectares of corn, and nearly 1,800 hectares of tobacco. Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian at 1300 GMT on November reports that by October, peasants in Kang Meas District had transplanted more than 2,000 hectares of various types of rice or 75 percent of the plan.

The radio at 1300 GMT on 8 November reports that by the end of the 1st half of this year, peasants in Srei Santhor District had raised more than 14,940 oxen and more than 4,250 buffalo. SPK in English at 1055 GMT on 3 November reports that so far the peasants in the province have sold 10,000 metric tons of grain to the state. SPK in French at 0409 GMT on 5 November reports that so far, peasants in Chamka Leu District have completed planting their planned 5,410 hectares of rainy season rice and sowed 900 hectares of dry season rice.

Kompong Chhnang Province: Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian at 1300 GMT on 6 November reports that during this past monsoon season, peasants in Baribo District put more than 7,400 hectares of land under various types of rice, including 5,800 hectares through transplanting and more than 1,500 hectares through direct sowing. They also collected nearly 4,600 metric tons of organic fertilizer.

Pursat Province: Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian at 0430 GMT on 8 November reports that by 23 October, peasants in Phnum Kravanh District had broadcast, planted, and transplanted more than 3,700 hectares of various types of rice and planted more than 110 hectares of subsidiary food crops. SPK in French at 1143 GMT on 9 November reports that by the end of September, peasants in the province had planted 46,000 hectares of rice and 1,200 hectares of industrial and subsidiary food crops. They also reclaimed more than 5,100 hectares of land.

Takeo Province: Phnom Penh Domestic SErvice in Cambodian at 1300 GMT on 9 November reports that by early October, peasants in Tram Kak District had transplanted more than 14,000 hectares of various types of rice.

Kratie Province: SPK in French at 1143 GMT on 9 November reports that by the end of October, peasants in Chhlong District had transplanted more than 400 hectares of rice out of the 2,050 hectares planted during current dry season.

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CSO: 4212/9

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

BRIEFS

KOMPONG THOM SUCCESS--In an interview with a Phnom Penh radio station correspondent, the secretary of Kompong Thom Province provisional party committee, So Han, said that during the past 10 months, 160 armed clashes were initiated by the local armed forces in their search-and-destroy operations launched against bandits, putting out of action 1,139, including 265 killed, 236 wounded, 71 captured, and 623 forced to surrender [all figures as heard], and seizing 196 assorted weapons, while the surrendered enemy soldiers turned over 239 other weapons. [Summary] [Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 1300 GMT 4 Nov 86 BK] /9274

RED CROSS AID DISTRIBUTION--In the 1st week of October, the Cambodian Red Cross distributed more than 3 metric tons of rice, which was aid from international humanitarian organizations, to 450 families in Svay Rieng Province. [Excerpt] [Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 0430 GMT 2 Nov 86 BK] /9274

GDR FOREIGN TRADE DELEGATION VISIT--Phnom Penh, 7 Nov (SPK)--A foreign trade delegation of the GDR led by Deputy Minister Jocken Steyer arrived in Phnom Penh yesterday for an official friendly visit to Cambodia. It was greeted upon its arrival by Phang Saret, Cambodia's deputy minister of trade, Frank Peter, commercial attache of the GDR to Cambodia, and other officials. [Text] [Phnom Penh SPK in French 0425 GMT 7 Nov 86 BK] /9274

CSO: 4219/6

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, TRADE, AND AID

RADIO REPORTS SRV-USSR JOINT OIL EXPLORATION

BK091630 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0500 GMT 3 Nov 86

["Contents" of NHAN DAN correspondent's "recent" interview with (Nguyen Ngoc Cu), first deputy director general of the joint Vietnam-USSR oil and gas enterprise]

[Text] Question: Would you please let us know about the joint enterprise?

Answer: After a short period of preparation, we started exploring at sea in early 1984. On 26 May the same year, the first exploratory well drilled by the vessel "(merchin)" hit oil with good results. Some other exploratory wells drilled after that also hit oil. Such a high percentage of wells hitting oil proved that the operational conceptions and orientations of Vietnamese and Soviet oil experts in the joint enterprise were accurate.

[On] 26 June 1986, we began industrial exploitation tests at Bach Ho mine. This showed that after working just 2 years at sea, we were able to exploit oil rapidly. Under similar conditions in the world and region, it would take at least from 5 to 7 years. Two oil-drilling rigs--each capable of drilling up to 16 wells--have been put into operation. Meanwhile, the foundations for a fifth rig have been completed.

Erecting production rigs had been carried out at an increasingly rapid rate. At present, another production rig is put into operation an average of every 6 months. An oil pipeline system to the floating ship repair station is taking shape. Preparation for installing an oil pipeline system to the mainland is underway along with plans for constructing an oil refinery. In 1986, we will be able to exploit hundreds of thousands of metric tons of crude oil.

These results, although highly encouraging, are only a beginning. And there a lot of work remains to be done.

Question: What are the reasons for these successes?

Answer: There are many, both direct and indirect reasons. However, the most important one is the all-round cooperation and generous assistance of our Soviet comrades. This is an important and effective guarantee for the search, exploration, and exploitation of oil and gas. The high efficiency and rapid rate of development of the joint enterprise during the past 5 years attest to this.

In addition to the supply of most of the equipment and materials and techniques by the Soviet Union, the comrade Soviet experts have wholeheartedly guided their Vietnamese colleagues and brought experience to all aspects of the work. As a result, a contingent of Vietnamese managerial and technical cadres and workers has been formed to support the oil and gas industry. Vietnamese cadres and workers in the joint enterprise have now assumed responsibility for erecting the production rigs at sea and part of the work on these rigs. This is extremely important for the future of Vietnam's oil and gas industry.

Question: Would you please tell us about the potential and prospects of continental shelf oil exploitation in the southern part of our country?

Answer: In 1987, the joint Vietnam-USSR oil and gas enterprise will produce seven times more oil than in 1986 and by 1990 this output will increase by more than 60 times. Experience also shows that this depends heavily on the efforts of everyone and on the renovation of our ways of thinking and doing things aimed at exploiting a large volume of oil with low production costs. Meanwhile, it should be noted that engaging in the oil and gas business is an extremely difficult and complex task. Hastiness in this business is something that we should avoid.

On the occasion of our forthcoming Sixth National Party Congress, the 8th anniversary of the signing of the Vietnam-USSR Treaty of Cooperation and Friendship, and the 69th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, on behalf of those Vietnamese and Soviet oil workers in the joint enterprise, governments, and peoples of Vietnam and the Soviet Union. We would also like to pledge to resolutely carry out our work satisfactorily so as to score new achievements in honor of these major events.

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CSO: 4209/121

NHAN DAN CONDEMNS THAILAND'S 'VIOLATION' OF PRK

BK090753 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0500 GMT 9 Nov 86

[From the review of NHAN DAN for 9 November]

[Text] On page four, NHAN DAN reports that on 5 November, Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers and foreign minister of the PRK, sent a letter to the secretary general of the United Nations drawing his attention to the serious conflicts at the Cambodian-Thai border in the wake of the fresh acts of aggression committed by Thailand.

In connection with this issue, NHAN DAN features a commentary entitled: "The Thai Side Should Respond to the PRK's Good-Will Attitude." The commentary stresses: This new act of aggression by Thailand was aimed at creating tension at the Cambodian-Thai border and in the region to cover up its criminal land-grabbing attacks against Cambodia.

The Thai authorities have made public a map--arbitrarily published by the U.S. Army during the war of aggression against Vietnam and totally devoid of juridical value--on which Hill 537 is recklessly printed as located on the border line of the two countries. In so doing, they have deliberately closed their eyes to the truth. According to the correct decision made by the World Court at The Hague and the Thai side's acknowledgement that time, Hill 537 is, as a matter of fact, located within Cambodian territory.

The Thai Army's brazen occupation of the PRK's Hill 537 by force was a violation of international law and the UN Charter. Along with lending a helping hand to the Cambodian reactionaries who are using Thai territory in opposing the Cambodian people's revival, this act has cynically infringed on the PRK's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, jeopardized regional stability, and at the same time, run counter to the trend for dialogue which is developing in the region and the rest of the world.

/9274
CSO: 4209/121

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, TRADE, AND AID

BRIEFS

COOPERATION ACCORDS WITH GDR--Hanoi, 5 Nov (ADN)--Two agreements on cooperation between the GDR and Vietnam in prospecting for and extracting mineral raw materials have been signed in Hanoi. In accordance with the documents--which were signed by GDR Deputy Minister for Geology Horst Richter, and Vietnamese Minister of Engineering and Metals Nguyen Van Kha, and Director of the Geology General Department Tran Duc Luong--the GDR will support Vietnam by supplying mining technology and other equipment and import raw materials from Vietnam in return. [Text] [East Berling ADN International Service in German 1623 GMT 5 Nov 86 LD] /9274

CSO: 4620/4

PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT

RADIO REVIEWS TAP CHI CONG SAN OCTOBER ISSUE

BK101009 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1000 GMT 26 Oct 86

[Summary] "Dear Friends: In today's press review program, we would like to introduce the October 1986 issue of TAP CHI CONG SAN.

"The journal's editorial, entitled 'Expand and qualitatively improve criticism and self-criticism in the press,' says:

"In our society, the press is the voice of the party and also of the people. The press is a link between the party and the people. The press must help in disseminating the government's orders, trying to turn its workds into public opinion and widely promote public support. It must defend what is right, new, progressive, and positive and must struggle unyieldingly against what is wrong, old, backward, and negative in the process of implementing party policy lines. As public opinion is a great strength, in generating this great strength through the words of the press, there is nothing much faster and sharper than publishing public criticism and self-criticism widely in the press.

"In pointing out the purposes of self-criticism and criticism in the press, the editorial emphasizes: Publishing criticism and self-criticism in the press is a form of democratic activity highly necessary for the progress of our party, state, and people. This is a method through which to develop the people's collective mastery and which guarantees that the views, lines, and policies of the party and the state in all aspects of work and life are thoroughly publicized.

"Regardless of whether it is for praise or criticism publication of criticism and self-criticism in the press is aimed at improving the political and spiritual single mindedness in our society, ensuring satisfactory implementation of all party and state policies and lines, bettering all fields of activities, bolstering the combative strength, and improving the capacities of socioeconomic construction and management. It is also aimed at developing the people's collective mastery and helping our party cadres and members as well as our people make rapid progress, thereby contributing to building new socialist men."

The editorial continues by urging the press to sternly criticize conservative work methods and what is regarded as obstacles to work progress. It must praise appropriately and not exaggerate achievements gained while reminding the people of those things still to be done if they are to make greater progress. The press must also launch a war against negative progress. The press must also launch a war against negative phenomena such as corruption, bureaucratism, officialism, conservatism, procrastination, laziness, and irresponsibility. Naturally, praise should not be excessive, nor should blame be excessive.

Our press would not be fulfilling its duty if it failed to point out good examples for the people to follow and to boldly criticize those shortcomings and mistakes to be avoided by the people. Supporting and participating in criticism and self-criticism is the duty of every party cadre and member as well as of every citizen. Obstructing criticism and self-criticism constitutes a violation of party discipline and the state law.

"In this issue, the journal also carries remarks made by Comrade Truong Chinh at a special session held by the VFF Central Committee from 24-25 September 1986 to study and contribute opinions to the Fifth CPV Central Committee to be presented at the Sixth National Party Congress; and to seek ways to exploit and develop to the fullest our country's all-sided latent potential to develop vigorously the workforce in conjunction with efforts to continue to step up socialist transformation.

"In the 'proceed-toward-the-Sixth-CPV-Congress forum section,' there are the following articles: 'Overcome weak areas in socialist legislation in our country' by Comrade Pham Hung, chief judge of the Supreme People's Court; 'Intensify socioeconomic management in accordance with the law and in the new situation' by Comrade Phan Hien, minister of justice; 'firmly guarantee national security and public order and security in the new situation' by Comrade Tran Dong, vice minister of interior; 'Binh Tri Thien overcomes difficulties in surging forward to new objectives' by Comrade Vu Thang, secretary of the Binh Tri Thien provincial party committee; 'Dong Nai until 1990' by Comrade Pham Van Hy, secretary of the Dong Nai provincial party committee; 'Some problems on renovating military science-related work' by Comrade Hoang Minh Thao, director of the high-level military institutes; 'Some opinions on planning a national socialist economy' by Comrade (Nguyen The Uan) of the Ministry of Foreign Trade; and 'Arranging winter farm produce in Thai Binh' by Comrade (Dang Van Nong) of the Thai Binh provincial farm product and food export corporation.

"Next, the journal published an article entitled: 'Collect and store those documents such as speeches, articles, and relics of Comrade Le Duan.' The article points out the purpose and significance of the implementation of a decision of the CPV Central Committee Secretariat on collecting and rectifying all the documents such as speeches and articles of Comrade Le Duan and gathering those material things directly related to the comrade's revolutionary activities. This is to have them compiled into a book for publication or stored in heritage houses or museums."

In order to contribute opinions to the Draft Political Report to be presented at the upcoming Sixth CPV Congress, the TAP CHI CONG SAN editorial staff recently held a scientific symposium called "Facts About Socialist Business." Starting with this issue, TAP CHI CONG SAN will carry excerpts of articles by those comrades participating in the symposiu. These articles are: "Some problems of methodological nature in our country's socialist business at present" by Comrade (Vu Huu Ngoan): "The basic characteristics of socialist business" by Comrade (Le Duc Thuy); "Some initial reflections on the nature of socialist business" by (Le Xuan Tung); "The basic differences between socialist and capitalist business" by (Pham Thanh); and "Regarding socialist business" by (Ho Te).

Next is an article by (Bui The Tan) "Frontline troops with the duty of engaging in production for economic construction." "The article points out the objectives and duties of frontline troops in doing economic business and emphasizes: 'Yielding more products locally with high output, quality, and efficiency at this time is the most urgent demand of the party, the earnest aspiration of the people, and the most essential requirement of troops in the northern mountain and midland regions.'"

In the "Letters to the Editor" section, there is a letter from (Nguyen Tien Cao) entitled "Resolving to cleanly sweep away individualism within the party is a matter of lie and death of the party and the revolution at present."

The letter says: "In order to improve the party's militant strength and consolidate the masses' confidence in the party, we must constantly struggle against individualism and do away with all negative phenomena in the party. It is necessary to put an end to all indications of prerogatives and special privilege and to resolve to remove opportunists and favoritism seekers from the party. By the way, each party member must be honest toward the party, seriously reexamine himself, and from this, try to struggle to surge forward. If he finds himself no longer suitable, he must move to the side of the road so other comrades can overtake him. He should not try to hold onto his position like a chicken feeling fond of hatching its eggs."

On the occasion of the 95th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian Comminist Party, the journal carries an article by (Vu Tuyen) entitled: "Being dynamic and pragmatic in the face of new requirements." The article introduces the many great successes of the Communist Party and people of Bulgaria in the revolutionary struggle and in their socialist construction.

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CSO: 4209/121

ECONOMIC PLANNING, TRADE, AND FINANCE

BETTER MANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL MARKET URGED

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 5 Sep 86 pp 3, 4

[Article by Cao Duy Ha of the Political Economy Department of the Nguyen Ai Quoc Higher Party School: "Managing the Social Market"]

[Text] In recent years the social market in general and the organized market specifically have been in a situation of disorder, which as given rise to many negative phenomena with regard to production and the lives of the people.

One of the important reasons for that situation is the relaxation of management of both the organized market and the free market. The three measures--economic, administrative, and educational--set forth by the Fifth Party Congress have not been implemented strictly and fully, and some places have used only administrative measures.

In order to overcome the situation of disorder and bring the activities of the social market into the socialist orbit, I believe that resolute steps should be taken to manage the social market in accordance with laws. Specifically:

First, on the basis of correct understanding of the essential existence of the two components (the organized market and the "free" market) of the social market at present, it is necessary to reorganize forces allowed to do business on the social market, in accordance with the principle of strengthening socialist commerce so that it can play the leading role and control the social market. specific commercial missions must be assigned to those forces, based on lists of products, in order to avoid duplication and getting in one another's way, to serve production and life as well as possible.

Second, all social market activities must be placed in the orbit of state supervision and control, in accordance with market management discipline and law, and strengthen the constant inspection and control of the market management organs in order to promptly uncover and deal with violations.

Third, the three measures--economic, administrative, and educational--must be used together and effectively, with emphasis on the economic measures, adequately bring into play administrative measures, and make continuous use of educational measures to create a social rules in market relations so that everyone can voluntarily observe market management and struggle against violations.

Fourth, it is necessary to resolutely eliminate speculation, black marketing, and illegal commerce by means of administrative measures, for the actual situation over the course of many years has shown that they have caused the most negative phenomena for the market and have corrupted a considerable number of cadres, workers, and civil servants in the circulation sector and in a number of other sectors.

Fifth, after carrying out a commercial division of labor, according to products, among the forces participating in the market, it is necessary to observe a principle regarding the products with regard to which the state exercises management and has a monopoly: if private merchants deal in them their goods will be confiscated and they will be punished administratively.

Sixth, it is necessary to enforce price discipline with regard to goods the prices of which are fixed by the state, including both fixed prices and "guideline" prices. All organizations and individuals authorized to engage in commerce must observe those prices. The state organs absolutely must not violate price discipline.

Seventh, the state must set forth a market management decentralization mechanism based on economic zones, management echelons, and lists of goods in circulation, to serve as a basis for unifying the management of circulation, price management, and market management.

Eighth, it is necessary to permanently tie in the transformation of market management with the transformation of production relations, and continually strengthen production relations in both of those spheres.

Ninth, it is necessary to immediately perfect a corps of good management and professional cadres with good political quality and strong specialized ability to be responsible for circulation.

5616
CSO: 4209/51

AGRICULTURE

AGRICULTURE MINISTER CITED ON INCREASING GRAIN PRODUCTION

BK110948 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1100 GMT 5 Nov 86

[Report on Agriculture Minister Nguyen Ngoc Triu's statement during a recent seminar organized by the Ministry of Agriculture and Vietnam Radio and Television to discuss measures to quickly increase grain production volume--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] In his opinion statement to begin the seminar, Comrade Nguyen Ngoc Triu, the minister of agriculture, stressed the topic of what should be done and how to quickly increase the total volume of grain production. In our country's current situation, it is completely correct to be concerned with the rate of developing grain production. If we cannot quickly increase grain production, we will not have enough food to eat and our state will find it difficult to procure grain. The shortage of grain will affect nearly all the operations of the national economy.

In this seminar, we will stress the scope of how to quickly increase the total volume of grain production. This does not mean a denial of considerable achievements in grain production over the past 5 years. The increase from 14.4 million metric tons in 1980 to 18.2 million tons in 1985--an average annual increase by 5.7 percent--has allowed us to reduce the amount of imported grain from 8 million tons during the 5-year 1976-80 period to 2.7 million tons during the last 5-year period. This is quite a great achievement. However, compared to the rate of population growth and the increasingly great requirements of socialist construction, our grain production is still far from meeting the demand.

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CSO: 4209/121

OFFICIAL CALLS FOR BETTER USE OF LAND RESOURCES

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 5 Sep 86 p 3

[Article by Bui Quan Toan, Deputy Director of the State Planning and Statistics Institute: "Protect Land Resources Well"]

[Text] According to data of the responsible specialized organs, as of the end of 1985, of the 33,091,000 hectares (not counting the Paracel and Spratley archipelagoes) on the mainland, we were using less than half (49.65 percent), of which 20.6 percent was being used for agriculture, 24.1 percent was being used for forestry, and 4.9 percent was being used for other purposes. Of the more than 50 percent of the land not yet in use, more than 42 percent was wasteland.

Our population is large, so the average per capita land area is very small, only about one-sixth of the world average, and because the rate of population increase is too high that per capita average has declined rapidly. Between 1980 and 1985 the per capita average declined by 780 square meters (i.e. 0.2 mau).

Because of limited land, a large population, and an underdeveloped economy, for a long time the line of the party and state has been giving priority to agricultural development. the ratio of natural land used for agriculture should be much higher than it is now, and must increase gradually year by year, but that has not been the case. Even more worrisome is the fact that agricultural land is declining, and fell by 1.34 percent between 19890 and 1985. Agricultural land used to grow annual crops has declined most of all (5.88 percent), and within that category rice land has declined the most (7.89 percent). On the average, rice land has declined by 74,000 hectares annually. Between 1980 and 1985 the decline in the nation's rice area was equivalent to the combined rice areas of Thanh Hoa, Nghe Tinh, and Binh Tri Thien! Of the categories of rice land, the three-crop rice land declined the most. The decline in the Bac Bo Delta amounted to 6,320 hectares (11.9 percent) and the decline in the Mekong Delta amounted to 18,700 hectares (81.4 percent).

There are many reasons for that serious situation, including the fact that land management has not been good, which is manifested in the following outstanding features:

The land management organizational system and cadres, especially at the basic level, have not been strengthened and consolidated and are not sufficiently strong to fulfill their missions. A considerable number of state forests, state farms, and cooperatives do not have cadres specializing in land management, or if they do they are only part-time.

State regulations of a legal nature are not respected. The following are a few serious examples:

With regard to the use of land for brick kilns and tile kilns (usually subsidiary food crop land used to grow two or three crops a year), 60 percent of such kilns in 18 provinces have no land grant authorization and the rest, although they have authorization, use more land than they are authorized. For example, in Hai Hung they were granted 336 hectares but use 882 hectares; in Ha Bac they were granted 180 hectares but use 254 hectares; and in Binh Tri Thien they were granted 183 hectares but use 275.

There are too many violations, especially in the granting of land without competence to do so (64 percent of all cases). In the five provinces in the Red River Delta alone there were 27,000 cases during the past 5 years involving violations of land management laws.

In order to overcome the serious situation and tendency mentioned above, we would like to recommend to the Party Congress:

It is necessary to pay adequate attention to and urgently carry out the completion of land utilization plans, especially at the basic level, on the basis of detailed, large-scale maps (1/2000-1/5000) in order to essentially complete the categorization of types and utilization, and definitively delineate the borders of land assigned to the basic units, and problems guarding land encroachment and secondary cultivation. A situation we can no longer tolerate is that the land borders of from 20 to 50 percent of the basic units are unclear and, even more serious, in fact the state collects taxes on only 77.3 percent of the area used to grow annual crops. In the Mekong Delta, 128,000 hectares (8 percent of the total) are still encroached upon and used for secondary cultivation.

In order to draft accurate plans, the most decisive matter is truly accurate categorization and classification. We still do not have a system for the all-round economic evaluation of land for unified national use. Therefore, we have not yet been able to establish the value of land, we do the other kind of fixed property used in production, as do most of the nations of the world today. That problem has been posed recently and has been carried out in a number of places, but few results have been attained and they are not uniform (because of differences in methods), are insufficient, and especially are inaccurate. Of the present total of 6.9 million hectares of agricultural land, there are maps and detailed analytical data regarding the quality of land (maps on 1/5,000 and 1/10,000 scales), which can serve as accurate bases for categorizing and evaluating only about 1.2 million hectares.

Once there is an accurate system of classification and evaluation, and plans for correctly using land, the management measures must be truly strict.

Serious violations must be dealt with in accordance with criminal law, and all violations of "national communal land," whether large or small, and no matter what the classification of land, must be severely punished.

As long as we have not yet accurately categorized and evaluated the land, we cannot have correct plans. As long as there are no correct and complete land utilization plans, we cannot tightly manage land resources, for today and future generations.

5616
CSO: 4209/51

READER COMPLAINS ABOUT SHIFTING CULTIVATION, HABITATION

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 5 Sep 86 p 3

[Brief Opinions column by Nong Van Ham: "Overcome the Situation of Shifting Cultivation and Habitation"]

[Text] The state farms are encountering many difficulties in forestry commerce. The natural forest area has become increasingly small and the newly afforested area cannot make up for the trees that have been lost.

The principal reason is shifting cultivation and habitation and the making of slash-burn fields to create a "second occupation" by cutting down trees to make slash-burn fields, raise water buffalo, cattle, hogs, chickens, goats, etc., and even digging fish ponds and hunting. That phenomenon has destroyed many natural forest areas, including those planted by the state or cooperatives.

In view of that situation, I would like to recommend that the Party Congress assign the mountain-region localities the mission of balancing labor, using labor for forestry production, have tight organization and guidance, and tie in the interests of people planting trees with the results of afforestation. There must also be a plan to stop the destruction of forests and the "second occupation" of livestock grazing, which harms forests, and enable the people to clearly realize the benefit of afforestation in watershed areas to prevent floods in downstream areas.

Nong Van Ham
(Ba Be State Farm)

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END

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1 DECEMBER 1986

Southeast Asia Report

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 8, AUGUST 1986

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VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 8, August 1986

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SOLICITING THE OPINIONS OF THE PARTY, OF THE PEOPLE CONCERNING THE DRAFT OF THE POLITICAL REPORT TO BE PRESENTED AT THE 6TH CONGRESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 86 pp 1-5

[Editorial]

[Text] The 10th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee discussed and unanimously adopted the draft of the Political Report to be presented at the party's 6th National Congress.

The draft Political Report has been transmitted to the cadres of all level and sectors with the aim of assisting in the writing of reports at the party organization congresses on the various levels and supporting the second round of self-criticism and criticism. The draft of this important document will also be presented for discussion at the party organization congresses on all levels, beginning at the congresses on the basic level, and be discussed among the people with a view toward gathering the opinions of cadres, party members and the people.

Together with self-criticism, with preparing for and holding the party organization congresses on the various levels, presenting for discussion and obtaining the opinions of cadres, party members and the people concerning the draft Political Report are a job of very important significance in the process of preparing for the national congress of the party. Within the context of the party being in power, the purpose of this extremely necessary work is to tap the intelligence of the entire party and the people in order to resolve the weighty problems of the party and country, strengthen the close ties between the party and the masses and uphold the right of collective ownership of the masses in the cause of building socialism and defending the fatherland.

As we know, at every national congress of the party, the Political Report of the Party Central Committee is always the most important theoretical and political document to be presented. Based on Marxist-Leninist thinking, it reviews the whole of the performance of the tasks set by the party in recent years and analyzes, summarizes and draws lessons and experience concerning leadership and guidance. At the same time, it sets forth, on the basis of the specific situation, the major tasks, guidelines, targets and measures concerning all aspects of the activities of our party, our state and our people in the years ahead.

The better the Political Report is prepared and the more widely the opinions of large numbers of cadres, party members and the masses are surveyed, the higher the quality of this report will be and the greater its impact will be in guiding the course of the revolution, guiding our efforts with regard to the problems faced in life. Consequently, it is the responsibility of the leadership organizations of the party to not only make thorough preparations so that a good draft Political Report can be written, but also to tap the intelligence of the entire party, of the people and gather many opinions while studying and combining these opinions of party members and the masses to incorporate them in the draft so that the contents of the draft are more complete and it can be rewritten as the official Political Report presented at the party's national congress.

The contents of this draft Political Report deal with the situation and tasks of our country's revolution; with the socio-economic guidelines and tasks for the years from 1986 to 1990; with guaranteeing and building upon the right of collective ownership of the laboring people and the management role of the state; with the world situation and the foreign policy of our party and state; and with improving the leadership ability and increasing the fighting strength of the party.

Drafted in a serious spirit combined with the experience that has been gained, this draft Political Report fully reviews the implementation of the resolutions of the 5th National Congress and the resolutions issued by the Party Central Committee and Political Bureau since the 5th Congress. It presents a general, overall picture of our country and reaches correct conclusions of important significance in many different areas: building a stronger consensus within the party and among the people, improving the leadership ability of the party and proposing accurate solutions to problems in order to bring about the continued advance of our country's revolution.

One of the issues of foremost importance, and also an issue concerning which there currently are differing opinions, is that of how to assess the situation. Only by assessing the situation from a point of view that is correct can we straighten out misunderstandings of one aspect of the situation or another and achieve unity and consensus. Only in this way can we lay the groundwork for defining the tasks, guidelines and targets of the revolution in a manner consistent with the actual situation. The attitude and methods of our party in assessing the situation are rather clearly evident in the Political Report: squarely facing the truth, analyzing the situation as it truly exists and speaking the truth. On the one hand, the draft Political Report confirms the achievements that our people have worked so hard to record during the past several years; on the other hand, it points out, in a straightforward manner, the mistakes and shortcomings of the party in the leadership and guidance it has provided and clearly analyzes the causes of mistakes and shortcomings. The analysis and assessment of the situation in recent years as well as the tasks, guidelines and targets for the years ahead--in both domestic and foreign affairs, particularly with regard to the economy--were discussed on many different occasions and carefully considered in a spirit of responsibility by the collectives of the drafting subcommittees, which consisted of many specialists and leaders of organizations of the party and state on the central and local levels.

In the course of the discussion at the plenum of the Party Central Committee, many comrades contributed many profound thoughts on all the matters raised in the draft. These thoughts were combined and incorporated in the draft. It can be said that, from a practical standpoint, the draft Political Report was prepared and written on a scientific and democratic basis and reflects the collective intelligence of the Party Central Committee.

Although the draft Political Report was prepared in a painstaking manner and a serious spirit, the Party Central Committee attaches very much importance to obtaining the opinions of cadres, party members and the people concerning this draft. This proves that our party is serious about implementing the principle of democratic centralism as well as thoroughly practicing its own mass viewpoint.

Democratic centralism is the basic organizational principle of our party. This principle, as stated in Party Statutes, "insures that each organization of the party and each party member displays activism and creativity as they participate in formulating and implementing the lines and policies of the party; on the other hand, it insures unity of will and action within the party."(1)

The presentation of the draft Political Report for discussion and to obtain the opinions of cadres and party members is aimed at meeting this requirement. Most importantly, it upholds the "right" of each organization of the party, of each cadre and party member to discuss, contribute their full intelligence and contribute their "activism and creativity" to the formulation of the lines and policies of the party and solve the weighty problems of the revolution. This is one of the highest expressions of the practice of democracy within the party. Every member and cadre of the party must clearly recognize this honor and obligation and must, through his or her intelligence and practical experience, actively contribute to the draft Political Report. No one should adopt a passive attitude and rely upon the upper levels.

Facts always prove that the leadership ability of the party and its fighting strength depend, to a very large degree and, in one respect, to a decisive degree, upon the quality of the corps of party members. To develop their role and make a greater impact, each member and cadre of the party must possess pure revolutionary virtues and qualities, firmly adhere to the lines, views and positions of the party and guide each activity of the masses in exact accordance with the leadership guidelines of the party. The discussion of the draft Political Report will not only help to amend and improve the draft, but will also help the organizations of the party, help cadres and party members to gain an even deeper understanding of the views and thinking of the party concerning the various areas of activity and the issues being faced in socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland today. And, this will help to strengthen the unity of will and action within the party and insure that our party can successfully carry out each task.

Throughout the course of leading our country's revolution, our party has always firmly adhered to the mass viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism: the revolution is the undertaking of the masses, the masses are the persons who create history. In today's cause of building socialism and defending the fatherland, our party attaches even more importance to establishing close ties between itself and the masses, tapping the intelligence of the masses and upholding their right of ownership. Facts proved that our people are very revolutionary, that they stood side by side with our party in the long fight to win victory over all aggressor powers, liberate the country and reunify the fatherland. The achievements of the revolution in recent years are the combined results of the three revolutions and also the results of the laboring people of our country exercising their right of collective ownership, displaying a high degree of revolutionary heroism, working diligently, enduring hardships, having confidence in the leadership of the party and uniting with one another to build the new life.

The national congress of the party is the most important political activity of the party and also the most important political activity of our people and our country. The party leads and maps out lines for our country's revolution. The masses implement each line and policy of the party, are the masters of society and the masters of the country. The relationship between the party and the masses is a relationship as close as the relationship between flesh and blood. Drawing from the experience they have gained in their practical activities in all fields of work, productive labor and combat, the various strata of our people and all collectives of laborers will surely contribute many good ideas and help the party to refine the draft Political Report. This is both an honor and the responsibility of our people to the party that leads them.

One of the insidious schemes being carried out by the enemy today is the increased use of propaganda activities to distort and attack the leadership of the party, discredit leaders of the party and state and provoke divisions between the party and the people. The purpose of having the draft Political Report discussed by the people is not only to tap their intelligence, but also to help everyone to gain a correct understanding of the country's situation, clearly understand the problems facing us in the revolution, gain an understanding of the lines and views of the party, heighten everyone's sense of responsibility, build greater political and ideological consensus among the people, establish amongst the people close ties to the party and refute the enemy's reactionary arguments.

Local and basic level party organizations gained much experience in obtaining the opinions of the people when preparing for previous congresses. They must use this experience to organize, in a very good way, the discussion of this draft Political Report by the various strata of the people and the surveying of their opinions concerning it. Generally speaking. many flexible forms of organization should be employed so that many opinions can be gathered from the representatives of the various strata of the people, from the executive committees of the mass organizations, from the members of these organizations, from collectives of laborers, from party factions within the Vietnam Fatherland Front, from important personalities, etc.

In addition to the party congresses on the various levels and the conferences of the mass organizations, the sectors on the central, provincial and municipal levels, particularly Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, should hold special conferences to survey the opinions of specialists, scientific-technical cadres and activists in the fields of culture, art, education, public health and so forth in order to gather thorough opinions concerning a number of specialized issues addressed in the Political Report and the report projects of the provinces and municipalities.

The way that opinions concerning the draft Political Report are obtained must be practical. Formalism and ostentatiousness must be avoided. Full importance must be attached to the opinions of the lower levels and the people.

The opinions forwarded to the upper level must be the full opinion originally expressed and none may be omitted. Specific opinions which require that action be taken must be forwarded by the party committee to the concerned sector, which must respond within a stipulated amount of time and be closely inspected.

In the phase of activities to discuss and contribute opinions to the draft Political Report, newspapers, radio and the other mass media play a very important role. In addition to making the draft Political Report public and presenting the contents of this document, newspapers and the radio can carry special columns or broadcast special programs dedicated to contributing opinions to the draft Political Report in order to register the opinions of cadres, party members and the people. Each newspaper should, depending upon its function and task, selectively reflect the opinions expressed, primarily opinions of value concerning matters that pertain to the field of work of its sector or circle.

Within the party as well as among the people, the discussion of the draft Political Report and the offering of opinions concerning the draft must be closely linked to the performance of specific, everyday work tasks. At the party congresses on the various levels, the discussion of this document and the offering of opinions concerning it must be combined with the second round of criticism and self-criticism. The process of discussing the draft Political Report within the party and among the people is also the process of continuing to gain a thorough understanding of the lines and policies of the party that were set forth at the 4th and 5th Congresses and in the resolutions of the plenums of the 5th Party Central Committee and the resolutions of the Political Bureau. The discussion of the draft Political Report and the offering of opinions concerning this draft as well as the practice of criticism and self-criticism, the review of work and the establishment of new work tasks must be oriented toward the common goals of achieving a high degree of consensus throughout the party and among all the people based on the lines and views of the party in advance of the 6th National Congress and accelerating each aspect of current work. Not much time remains before the start of the 6th Congress. The various party committee echelons must focus on conducting good party organization congresses on their level in order to "successfully resolve the pressing socio-economic problems pointed out by the 10th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, perform national defense, security and foreign policy tasks well, launch a spirited emulation movement throughout the party, among all the people and throughout the armed forces to record practical achievements in celebration of the 6th Party Congress and create an atmosphere of enthusiasm and confidence in advance of the congress."(2)

In view of the important requirements mentioned above, we must make every effort to organize the discussion of the draft Political Report well at the party congresses on the various levels as well as among the people with the aim of contributing opinions to the documents of the upcoming party congress.

FOOTNOTES

1. CPV Statutes, 1982, pp 13-14.
2. Speech by Truong Chinh at the Special Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee, 14 July 1986.

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CSO: 4210/1

SPEECH BY TRUONG CHINH AT THE CADRE CONFERENCE TO STUDY THE DRAFT POLITICAL REPORT TO BE PRESENTED AT THE 6TH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE PARTY (7-10 JULY 1986)

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 86 pp 6-13

[Text] Dear comrades:

Over the past several days, working hard, imbued with a high sense of responsibility and resolved to gain a thorough understanding, you comrades have studied and animatedly discussed the basic contents of the draft Political Report, and have contributed many good ideas to this report. On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Political Bureau, I warmly acclaim the results of the conference.

Over the past 56 years, with its rich experience in revolutionary struggle, our party has led our people in overcoming countless difficulties and trials and in scoring extremely glorious victories. With the total liberation of the South and national reunification, our entire country entered the period of transition to socialism. In the light of the resolutions of the 4th and 5th Congresses, in a situation in which our country still faces many difficulties, our party has led our people in continuously scoring great successes in socialist construction, in defending the socialist fatherland in discharging their national tasks and international obligations.

Apart from those great achievements, we have committed a number of serious blunders and mistakes in economic construction and management. Those achievements and successes, those blunders and mistakes, as well as the guidelines, objectives and tasks of the party and people in the forthcoming years, are reflected in the draft Political Report to be presented at the coming congress.

Comrade Vo Chi Cong has introduced the basic contents of the draft Political Report to enable you comrades to study and discuss them over the past several days. I will not repeat these basic contents. I would like, on this occasion, to add some ideas of my own so as to further clarify the party's strategic guiding concepts.

As you comrades already know, the 4th and 5th National CPV Congresses have pointed out very correctly our country's outstanding characteristics in the period of transition to socialism and in the first phase of that period, that is, that we are advancing directly to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, from a situation of small-scale production, with a multisectoral economy, a very low commodity production ratio and continued natural-economy autarky in a number of regions.

A number of established material-technical bases have been seriously ravaged in the 30 years of war. Imbalances in grain, foodstuffs, energy, raw and other materials, and infrastructure have been severe and serious. Freshly emerging from a long war, our people have had to cope with a land-grabbing border war and a multifaceted war of sabotage waged by the Chinese expansionist-hegemonists, in collusion with the U.S. imperialists and international reactionaries, making it impossible for us to devote our efforts to economic construction. These outstanding characteristics prove on the one hand that we started our advance to socialism at a very low level; on the other hand they prove the extremely complex nature of the situation. Our shortcomings and subjective mistakes have rendered the already very difficult situation even more difficult and complicated.

The weighty task facing the 6th National CPV Congress is that it must make a realistic review of the situation and draw profound lessons from experience, therebyfurther concretizing the policy line set forth earlier at the 4th and 5th Congresses. Keeping in mind its momentous significance, we are resolved to do a good job in making preparations for the congress, to insure its success and to meet the aspirations of our entire army and people.

To further concretize the policy line and strategic guidelines for our country's development set forth earlier at the 4th and 5th Congresses, our party will lead our people in persisting in their struggle, in remaining valiant in their work and in the defense of the fatherland, in surmounting all difficulties and trials and in steadily advancing toward socialism.

To carry out the party's line set forth earlier at the 4th and 5th Congresses, we must, in the course of carrying out the socialist revolution in our country, make renovations in many respects; renovations in concepts, especially in economic concepts; renovations in work style; and renovations in organization and cadres. Our 6th Party Congress must meet these requirements. These renovations must be reflected in the contents of party documents, primarily in the Political Report, and in the guidelines for personnel assignments issued by the central level and by all party committee echelons at the all-echelon congresses and the coming national party congress.

We must base these renovations on the lessons learned from past successes and from the shortcomings and mistakes we have committed in the past 11 years, now that our entire country is entering the period of transition to socialism. At this point, I would like to bring up some important lessons from experience.

First, the strength of a country, of a revolution, lies in the people. In order to truly promote the working people's right to collective mastery, we must have confidence in the people, we must consider the people as the basis in all policies. That was how our forefathers though and acted in ancient times. In modern times, from prerevolutionary days to the August Revolution, and to the wars of resistance against France, the United States, and the Beijing expansionists, our party has invariably applied this same policy. In our current advance to socialism, we must all the more persist in applying this same policy.

Party policies must stem from the interests, aspirations and level of knowledge of the people. The assessment of our policies--whether they are correct, wrong, good or bad--depends on whether or not the majority of the masses are enthusiastic, supportive and eager to carry them out; whether or not production is promoted, the economy is improving, the people's lives are stabilized and gradually improved; and whether or not national defense and security are strong and stable.

Who carries out policies? The people, no one else. Even if policies are correct, unless the people understand and support them, they cannot be carried out. In that case, efforts must be made to educate the people and explain things to them; we must know how to wait for them.

Occasionally we must readjust policies to realities and the level of knowledge of the masses. We must educate the people, make them understand and have confidence in the party and create a seething large-scale revolutionary movement among the working people to make them voluntarily and eagerly endeavor to build socialism.

Since our country entered the period of transition, quite a large number of cadres and party members have detached themselves from the people, forgetting the years and months of sacrifice and hardship during which they shared the sweet and the bitter with them and thinking that popular support is needed only when they carry out a clandestine revolution and wage a liberation war and that, when we build socialism, the people must obey them.

Lenin said: the risk of a ruling party lies in that it may sever its relations with the popular masses. Our peasants have a tendency toward private ownership. This is correct. To advance to socialism, the tendency toward private ownership must be eliminated. That is also correct. But, the question is how to eliminate it. It must be eliminated by carrying out the three revolutions and gradually raising the level of production socialization while educating our peasants consistently, positively and persistently to help them gradually change their way of thinking in the direction of progress and not by giving orders and applying administrative and coercive measures to eliminate the tendency overnight. We may say that thinking of private ownership means a lack of patriotism, but our people will not agree with us and we will, as a result, be further distanced from them.

During the past several resistance wars, some families did not send their members to sacrifice for the fatherland's independence and freedom. Our peasants in particular and our people in general love their country and socialism very much. But they will object if we impose on them what is against their legitimate interests, if we force them to yield to our subjective will. The lesson for us is that our revolution, and undertaking of our people regarded as very important in the past, has now become even more important. This is a very valuable historical lesson from our country's revolution.

Second, it is necessary in leadership work to abide by the law of objectiveness and to apply it to reality. Comrade General Secretary Le Duan said: to be masters is to grasp the law and to act in accordance with it. He was right. Failure to abide by the law cannot help us to exert mastery; on the contrary, the law may strike back at us.

Over the past more than 10 years, it has been obvious that when we want to change the socio-economic situation, we must first change our thinking, especially our thinking on economic matters. Marxism-Leninism has its universal, general principles, but how to apply them to the situation in Vietnam is our business, because no one else can do it for us. The application of these principles must be based on the actual situation in Vietnam, with its specific people and with the specific developmental conditions of our country's history, economy, social requirements and traditions.

The system of objective laws is expanding its impact. These laws influence and supplement each other; they combine into a single whole, with the special socialist laws playing the leading role. We must apply these laws properly and, through practical trials, readjust our policies so that we will apply not just a certain law, but the entire legal system, and do so more ingeniously and correctly. The criteria for evaluating the level and capability of properly applying the legal system through implementing our policies lie in production; maintaining circulation operations; stabilizing and gradually improving the people's material and cultural life; building a healthy, civilized society; heightening all ethical and spiritual values; and consolidating our national defense and security. Any policy that dampens the masses' enthusiasm, creates obstacles, lowers production, obstructs circulation operations, causes livelihood problems, develops negativeness and disturbs society, must be abandoned or remedied because it reflects an incorrect application of objective laws.

Over the past years, because we have made mistakes, developed subjectiveness and impatience, disregarded and even violated objective laws and remained backward and sluggish, we have held on too long to the system of centralism, bureaucratism and subsidization. As a result, production development has been restrained; our laboring people have been unable to actually develop their mastery; non-producers have exceeded producers in number; productivity, quality, efficiency have constantly decreased; and no products, or only very small quantities of goods, have been available for society. Circulation operations have been obstructed due to the partitioning of markets; the economic crisis has continued; inflation has not ceased; prices have been unstable; life has turned insecure; ethics and spiritual values have been eroded; and negativism has developed.

The 6th Plenum of the 1st Party Central Committee and especially the 8th Party Central Committee Plenum have deeply analyzed these shortcomings and mistakes and pointed out the serious harm which has been caused in several aspects. On the basis of this analysis, the Party Central Committee has decided to abolish centralism, bureaucratism and subsidization and switch economic activities to the socialist system of accounting and business transactions, according to plan.

The resolution of the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, followed by Resolutions Number 28, 31 and 306, the Political Bureau's draft resolution, and the conclusion of the 10th Plenum of the Party Central Committee on prices, wages and money mark our party's maturity in leadership work in general and in economic leadership in the awareness and correct application of laws, in shifting from directing economic operations through administrative orders, regarded as indispensable, to directing them by correctly applying the system of objective laws. This is the essence and profound revolutionary significance of the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee.

Regrettably, because of a lack of understanding and thorough grasp of the spirit and basic contents of these resolutions, we have, while providing guidance for implementation, made a number of blunders and mistakes in currency exchange and in the recent general readjustment of prices and wages, thus causing serious consequences which we must now seek all measures to overcome.

It should be added that in the background of today's era, when the socialist community has become an international system and an increasingly powerful and stable force, there are many favorable objective conditions; we must necessarily seek, and are fully capable of seeking, the extremely valuable assistance of fraternal countries, primarily the Soviet Union. However, no matter how advantageous the objective conditions are, our subjectivity must always play the main role.

Obviously, we have missed out on a valuable opportunity. The Soviet Union has, in the past 10 years, provided us with aid worth tens of billions of rubles. Yet, with the bureaucratic, centralized subsidization mechanism, we have failed in our undertakings. We have had to dip into the aid for several hundred million rubles annually in social consumption, subsidization and loss compensation. Several hundred million rubles have been spent on many construction projects. This has been a big mistake.

Regrettably, a number of comrades still fail to fully recognize the profound, multifaceted harmful effects of that mechanism. They are still afraid that thinking and doing things in a way different to the bureaucratic, centralized mechanism is departure from socialism.

Some comrades worry that if we boldly utilize and develop the potentials of different sectors of the economy, promulgate policies for production expansion and coordinate state--and people-created jobs, the situation will become more chaotic because raw materials, materials and energy, being in limited quantities, will then be channeled from state-run installations to the collective and private sectors. Do they mean, as evinced by their fears, that we must limit production and, in so doing, not provide jobs to everyone in order to do the right thing and avoid chaos? Moreover, such concern proves that we are still not confident of the people's strength; we still do not clearly understand the application of rules.

In fact, when we adopt a policy of expanding production and creating conditions to provide more jobs, because of the division of labor in society, some workers, in carrying out their occupations, will create more raw materials and materials for production in order to meet social needs; the working people will bring into full play their creativity in overcoming difficulties and developing production.

The problem is, we must adopt correct policies to create conditions for workers, production and business installations and localities to produce raw materials, materials and consumer goods. If our policies--especially investment, pricing, circulation and distribution policies--are rational, peasants will certainly not give up tilling, will not pull up tobacco plants, will not cut off and destroy sugarcane; and will not give up hog raising. On the contrary, they will be more enthusiastic and will produce more; we will have more raw materials and materials for industrial production and more grain and foodstuffs for consumption. If investment policies are correct and if we have suitable policies, mine workers will certainly eagerly overcome difficulties in producing more coal, and scientists and technicians will devote their intelligence and talent to creativity and search for sources of energy, raw materials, and materials that can be tapped locally, thus helping economize large amounts of foreign exchange.

Correct policies not only help promote production but also make important contributions to consolidating the worker-peasant alliance and making it more steadfast; they arouse enthusiasm and confidence among the peasants in their steady advance to socialism, along the path already charted by the party. Erroneous, unpopular policies that go against rules not only cause production to decline but also hurt the worker-peasant alliance and drive peasants into the hands of speculative private traders.

As far as socialist transformation is concerned, we must also step it up on a permanent, continuous basis by adopting practical forms and steps for each locality and the entire country and by properly implementing the guideline for conducting transformation by making use of it, by making use of it to better conduct transformation. We must make production relations consistently conform with the nature and capability of production forces, determined not to quickly give up transformation due to a sense of impatience, thereby causing production to decrease and the market to decline. The best way to implement this guideline is to broadly apply proper forms of economic cooperation among economic components on the basis of developing the key role of socialist economic components. Of course, we must punish speculators, smugglers, makers of fake goods who intend to deceive consumers, thieves; those who are corrupt, deviant and depraved; and those who siphon state goods from warehouses.

We must strengthen managerial work to control the market by properly combining economic, administrative, educational and judicial measures. But this market must be a prosperous one with an abundance, not a scarcity, of goods so as to meet social needs. If we should have to manage a poor market, how could we satisfactorily apply the basic socialist economic law which seeks to satisfy the laboring people's growing material and cultural needs.

We can simply say that failure to correctly comply with this law will not lead us to socialism, and that failure to correctly understand this law will prolong and not shorten the path toward socialism. We should not assume that we could advance to socialism more quickly by skipping a stage or implementing this law incorrectly. On the contrary, we would then move forward very slowly.

In sum, the most correct and quickest way to advance to socialism is to respect the objective laws, to apply them correctly, and to act in accordance with them. There is no other way. This is the second lesson for us.

Third, we must maintain and strengthen our party's leading role to insure the mobilization of all our people's capabilities toward the realization of socialism, to insure the conscientious application of law, and to create favorable conditions for developing the positive effects of these laws. The leading party must grasp the laws that affect society in each historic stage. By properly grasping this system, the party's leadership will help the people in vigorously developing their socialist collective mastery and guide them in conscientiously acting in accordance with these laws.

The might of these laws is invincible. Whether the powerful force of proletarian dictatorship and the laboring people's great capabilities can be fully developed or not depends on whether or not this force and these capabilities act in accordance with these laws. To comply with these laws is to observe the people's will and to follow the progress of the country and the era. For this reason, correct compliance with these laws will help us develop production, carry out smooth circulation operation and gradually stabilize and improve the situation.

Our party's experienced leadership over the revolution over the past 56 years has proved its correctness and creativeness in combining the national and international factors, the traditional and contemporary factors, as well as the objective factor regarding the people's strength and the objective factor regarding the application of the system of laws. It is for this reason that our country's revolution has advanced from one success to another over the past years.

Over the past 10 years we have been entering the period of transition to socialism, that is, entering a revolutionary course that is still new to us. For thousands of years our people have fought their enemies and brought into full play their forefathers' heroic tradition of nation-building and national defense. This is the first time in our nation's history that we are building socialism.

In the course of our efforts to advance, apart from the successes we have scored, we have committed quite a few blunders and mistakes. Through the difficulties they have encountered and the blunders they have made, our party and people have further matured by another step. We can firmly be confident that, with our party's correct leadership, with the creative application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and with our positive acts performed according to rules, the great strength of the system of dictatorship of the proletariat and the right to collective mastery of our country's working people will be highly enhanced in the coming years.

To insure the party's leadership, we must strengthen intra-party unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the party's policy line. In the face of a difficult and complex situation, it is not unusual that opinions differ. We must be sincere and frank and adopt a constructive attitude in discussions in order to find out the truth and reach a high level of unanimity; we must try our best to avoid rashness and undue haste.

The present situation requires that our party renovate its work style in accordance with Uncle Ho's work style, and that it renovate organizational and cadre work as well. We must firmly maintain democratic centralism in party life as well as in leadership over economic and social activities.

Some people have offered the idea that, between centralism and democracy, we should at present accord priority to centralism. That claim is erroneous both in theory and in practice. Democratic centralism is a principle that reflects very strict unity. Unless we promote democracy and insure the right to autonomy of basic units, and the legitimate interests of the worker both in agriculture and industry, both in production and goods circulation, there will be no, or only very few, commodity products, and commodities will not be in normal circulation. In such a situation, can we insure centralism?

If centralism is stressed to the point that we lack commodities and goods circulation is stalemated, what is the purpose of centralism? That is the bureaucratic centralism we have been guilty of for a long time, and which the resolution of the 6th CPV Central Committee Plenum has analyzed, criticized and rejected.

Centralism must be based on adequate promotion of democracy. Promoting democracy must be aimed at insuring the right to centralized management. These two aspects are of a common nature; they interact and complement each other.

Under the present circumstances, we must counter the bureaucratic-centralist subsidization mechanism. Meanwhile, we must counter liberalism, disorganization, indiscipline and the practice of catering only to local and parochial interests, which weaken the state's centralized and unified management.

In view of the current situation, in order to correctly implement the resolutions of the 8th CPV Central Committee Plenum and the subsequent resolutions of the Political Bureau, we must assign cadres correctly, suiting the requirements of renovation in economic leadership and management.

Cadres' capabilities and qualities must be reflected in the renovation of concepts, of thinking and of ways of doing things, especially in the renovation of thinking and doing things economic, consistent with the requirement of shifting economic activities to socialist economic accounting and business transactions, with planning as the basis.

We are facing a specific situation. Apart from the advantages, there are a great many difficulties to be overcome. To insure that the dual strategic tasks are accomplished well in the new situation, the consolidation and strengthening of party leadership is of decisive importance. That is our third lesson.

The aforementioned great lessons from experience help us further grasp the basic contents of the draft Political Report, correctly assess the situation in years past, and define the guidelines, objectives and tasks for coming years. That is also the basis for forming a new economic concept which will also help you, comrades, draw up reports on the situation and tasks of your respective party organizations.

Meanwhile, according to plan, and under the guidance of the Secretariat, you comrades should organize well the gathering of ideas from all-echelon congresses, of our entire party and people to be incorporated into the Political Report which will be presented to the coming 6th National Party Congress.

We should make every cadre and party member keenly understand his tasks, promote democracy, organize serious and frank study and discussion in the party and contribute many precise ideas to the draft Political Report and the draft suggestions for amendments to the Party Statutes.

The Secretariat should guide all party committee echelons in organizing well the gathering, classification and systematization of opinions contributed by party organizations at all levels, and should help correctly integrate important ideas into documents, in order to perfect, and raise the level of, the Political Report to suit the 6th National Party Congress.

The all-echelon party organization congresses must apply ideas, viewpoints and policies mentioned in the Political Report to the specific conditions in each party organization and locality; devise the guidelines, tasks and realistic programs of action for their respective localities and units; do a good job in carrying out the elections to the executive committees of party organizations at all levels; and elect worthy delegates to the national party congress in accordance with the central level's guidance.

To insure the strengthening of the party's leadership and raise its effectiveness, we must attach utmost importance to party-building tasks, to making the party clean, strong and stable and must carry out self-criticism and criticism drives well. By so doing, we will create unity in will and action in the party and among people, and be able to overcome future difficulties and advance further.

Along with making urgent preparations for the national party congress and the all-echelon party organization congresses, we must regularly and firmly grasp, and direct well, urgent upcoming tasks; positively and timely resolve difficulties in materials and energy, and meet other conditions, in order to accelerate agricultural and industrial production; carry out measures to correctly implement the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, Resolutions Number 28 and 31, and the conclusion of the 10th Plenum of the Party Central Committee on prices, wages and money; and quickly carry out draft Resolution Number 306 of the Political Bureau on guaranteeing the right to autonomy in production and business transactions of basic economic units. Meanwhile, we must heighten vigilance, stand ready to cope with the enemy's land-grabbing and sabotage schemes and acts; and firmly maintain national defense and security.

We must strive to overcome all difficulties to insure high productivity and output for the 10th month rice crop, accelerate the production of consumer goods and further improve the distribution-circulation link in order to make the market, prices and the people's lives move in the right direction and to create an enthusiastic atmosphere among the people at the time of the congress. This is at once an economic, political and ideological problem; it is also aimed at achieving further stabilization in the people's lives and their outlook and at insuring success for the congress. Meanwhile, it will create favorable preconditions for the implementation of post-congress work.

This is realistic work for developing the working people's right to socialist collective mastery. It motivates the entire party and people to eagerly emulate one another in fulfilling the 1986 state plan and creates an enthusiastic spirit in scoring realistic achievements in honor of the all-echelon party organization congress and the national party congress.

Dear comrades, with great determination and firm confidence in the success of the party congress, I wish you good health and many new achievements. Please, comrades, convey the kind regards of the Party Central Committee and the Political Bureau to all cadres, party members, compatriots and combatants throughout the country.

May the all-echelon party organization congresses be crowned with success.

Thank you, comrades.

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OUR SITUATION AND TASKS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 86 pp 14-22, 98

[Article by Le Can]

[Text] During the past 5 years, in keeping with the resolution of the 5th Party Congress, our people have recorded enormous achievements and victories in the work of building socialism and defending the fatherland.

In socialist construction, we have recorded important achievements. Since 1981, marked progress has been made in industrial and agricultural production. We have not only stopped the decline in production that occurred in 1979 and 1980, but have also achieved a relatively high rate of development.

During the 5 years from 1981 to 1985, agricultural output increased at the average annual rate of 4.9 percent (during the period from 1976 to 1980, output only rose at the average annual rate of 1.9 percent). Grain output took an important stride forward, from 14.4 million tons in 1980 to 18.2 million tons in 1985. As a result of this advance, we have been able to reduce the amount of grain imported. During the 5 years from 1981 to 1985, our country only imported about 1 million tons of grain. (During the 5 years from 1976 to 1980, our country had to import 5.6 million tons of rice). The production of both annual and perennial industrial crops has developed rather well, reaching 1 million hectares in 1985, a 400,000 hectare increase over 1980. Significant development has occurred in livestock production. In 1985, there were 1.8 million more hogs and 1.2 million more buffalo and head of cattle than in 1980.

Afforestation has exceeded plans, having been completed on 470,000 hectares. Considerable progress has been made in marine products production. In 1985, we caught 800,000 tons of fish. (In 1980, the fish catch only amounted to 550,000 tons). The value of exported marine products was eight times higher in 1985 than in 1980.

The above mentioned achievements in agriculture, the forest industry and the fishing industry were recorded as a result of enacting many new policies, including the product contract policy in agriculture and various policies for the development of livestock production, the fishing industry, the forest industry, the clearing of land and so forth; as a result of the widespread application of scientific and technical achievements, particularly new crop varieties; and as a result of numerous localities and basic units displaying a spirit of dynamism and creativity and the agricultural support sectors making many efforts.

Despite these large achievements, agriculture, the forest industry and the fishing industry have not met requirements. Agricultural production is not stable or diversified. The production of subsidiary food crops has declined in terms of both the amount of area under cultivation and yields. Industrial crop production has not developed strongly. Centralized, specialized farming areas have been established slowly. The output of some important crops has fluctuated from year to year. The percentage of agricultural products spoiled or lost in storage, transportation and processing is quite high. The quantity of harvested wood delivered to the state has been small compared to the plan. The destruction of the forests is still widespread. The forests are being destroyed and harvested at a faster rate than new forests are being planted or regrowing. The cultivation of marine products (which yields high returns while requiring only a small amount of capital) has not been promoted. The fish catch has increased but the quantity of fish being supplied to many municipalities and industrial zones and to the armed forces has not increased.

During the 5 years from 1981 to 1985, industrial output increased at the average annual rate of 9.5 percent (during the 5 years from 1976 to 1980, industrial output only rose at the average annual rate of 0.6 percent). In 1985, compared to 1980, we produced 1.6 billion more kwh of electricity, 145,000 more tons of phosphate fertilizer, 800,000 more tons of cement, 195 million more meters of cloth, 275,000 more tons of sugar, 31,000 more tons of paper... But the output of some important products, such as coal, wood and cement, has fallen far short of the plan. Industrial output is still far from meeting the needs of the national economy for energy, raw materials, fertilizer, spare parts... Essential consumer goods are still scarce. The quality of many industrial products, particularly consumer goods, has declined.

The value of exports increased by 75 percent during the 5 years from 1981 to 1985 compared to the 5 years from 1976 to 1980 but failed to meet the plan. The annual rate of increase in exports has been very low.

During the 5 years from 1981 to 1985, the gross social product grew at an average annual rate of 7.5 percent and national income rose at an average annual rate of 6.4 percent (during the 5 years from 1976 to 1980, the gross social product grew at an average annual rate of 1.4 percent and national income at an average annual rate of 0.4 percent). The rate of growth of the economy during the past 5 years was noteworthy but failed to meet the demands of production and everyday life and was not commensurate with the real potentials that could have been developed. Of the 28 major socio-economic plan norms set by the 5th Party Congress, only 14 were met or exceeded. The other 14 were not met. Among the plan norms that were not met were some important norms, such as those on the output of grain, coal, cement and wood, on exports..., which affected the activity of the entire economy. The productivity, quality and efficiency of production, particularly within the state-operated economy, are still low and have declined in many areas.

For the prosperity of the fatherland and the lasting happiness of future generations, the people of our entire country have been working with selfless dedication, have made every effort to build the material-technical bases of socialism and have recorded large achievements. During the 11 years since the day that the South was totally liberated and the entire country began the advance to socialism, we have built 300 relatively large projects and thousands of medium and small-scale projects. There are now new material-technical bases of socialism in our country, including a number of important bases in the fields of electric power, petroleum and natural gas production, cement production, mechanical engineering, textile production, sugar production, communications... The value of the fixed assets in the production sector has increased relatively quickly. Our major shortcomings are: the returns from investments are low; decentralization still exists; practically all projects take a long time to build; the scope of unfinished projects is broad and much capital is tied up; the construction of many projects is not balanced or coordinated from the standpoint of energy, fuel, raw materials, communications-transportation and the living conditions of workers; and when construction is completed, only about 50 percent of design capacity (or less) is utilized. Meanwhile, investments have not been made in repairing existing bases or augmenting them with additional machinery.

During the past 5 years, we have also recorded many achievements in socialist transformation, in building and strengthening the new production relations. The largest achievement is that the vast majority of the farmers of Nam Bo, 86.4 percent of farm families and 81.8 percent of farmland, have been brought into collective production, primarily through production collectives (although the quality of these collectives is still low). Another achievement deserving of attention is that members of the ethnic minorities in the Central Highlands have been brought into collective production and a new life has been built for them. One enormous achievement of long-range significance from the standpoint of the development of our country is the virtual elimination of exploiting classes nationwide. The landowner class, compradore bourgeoisie and powerful bourgeoisie in industry and commerce have been abolished. Some small-scale bourgeoisie operate in industry with the permission of the state. However, we are still making mistakes in socialist transformation. As a result, forces of bourgeois commerce continue to operate in many different ways. The wealthy farmer style of exploitation in the countryside and a number of other forms of exploitation still exist.

Due to our shortcomings, particularly shortcomings in the transformation and management of the market, the "free" market accounts for more than 50 percent of the volume of retail goods at a time when the self-employed and private sectors of the economy only produce about 33 percent of the gross social product. Although the state controls the key and vital forces of the economy, the vast majority of materials and the majority of essential consumer goods, it still does not control the market and prices. The quality and efficiency of the state-operated economy have declined. The state-operated economy is weak from the standpoint of playing the dominant role that it should be playing. Within some basic state-operated and collective units, production relations have deviated from what they should be to some extent. These deviations are: the negative phenomena within state-operated commerce; the "guild" character of some state-operated enterprises; the use of "non-specific" contracts at agricultural cooperatives; and the practice of many basic units in small industry and the handicraft trades of using the name "cooperative" when they are actually self-employed or private units.

In recent years, our state and people have made many efforts to meet national defense and security needs. However, the supplying of grain and food products to troops and materials for national defense needs is still marked by many shortcomings.

Our party and state are fully concerned about the living conditions of the people. During the past 5 years, our country's population grew by another 6 million persons. The per capita production of some primary products increased: grain production increased from 268 kilograms in 1980 to 304 kilograms per capita in 1985; pork production from 8.3 kilograms to 12.5 kilograms; fish production from 10.3 kilograms to 13.5 kilograms; sugar and honey production from 3.2 kilograms to 7.2 kilograms... As a result, we were able to reduce the importation of grain and some essential consumer goods. During the past 5 years, 4 million more laborers were provided jobs within the various sectors of the national economy. The state built 2.1 million square meters of housing, 1.1 million square meters of which were built in industrial zones and municipalities. In rural areas, housing construction is being accelerated. Education and public health have developed. General school enrollment rose from 11.5 million students in 1980 to 12.4 million in 1985. During the past 5 years, the number of hospital beds increased by 12,400.

The standard of living of the majority of farmers has been improved from the standpoint of food and shelter but there are still some farmers who lack food and who are still experiencing other shortages in their everyday lives, particularly in areas that have been hit by many natural disasters and in remote, wilderness areas.

The living conditions of cadres, manual workers, civil servants and the armed forces have worsened. Real wages have declined. Essential goods frequently cannot be supplied.

Generally speaking, the standard of living is unstable. Millions of laborers, including hundreds of thousands of persons reaching work age in the cities, are unemployed. The majority of persons who have a job do not have enough work. Many legitimate material and cultural needs are not being met. Our major mistake is that we have allowed unfair distribution to continue to become more widespread. Cadres, manual workers, civil servants, the armed forces and honest laborers--the pillars of socialism--are encountering the most difficulties in their everyday lives. Meanwhile, the number of merchants is too high and many persons are earning a high income. Persons who earn their livings illegally and persons who steal have a much higher standard of living than persons who support themselves through their own honest labor.

Under the leadership of the party, our armed forces and people have won large victories in the cause of defending the fatherland. Following their defeat in the war of aggression against our country in February 1979 and in conjunction with the continuation of their wide-ranging war of sabotage, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists launched a form of border war of encroachment and occupation against Vietnam. In April 1984, they escalated this war in a phase of military operations that focused on occupying land along our country's northern border. The long-range plan of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists is to weaken our forces, impede our people's socialist construction and thwart us in our effort to fulfill our international obligation to Laos and Cambodia. In coordination with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers, they have carried out a scheme of economic encirclement and sabotage against Vietnam, intensified the psychological war in a vain attempt to sow confusion among our people, inserted intelligence agents and spies into our country and organized reactionary gangs in a futile effort to foment insurrection and undermine our social order and safety.

The Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and the U.S. imperialists consider Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to be a main target in their counter-attack against the forces of national independence, democracy and social progress. Therefore, they have coordinated their strategies for attacking our country and the two fraternal countries on the Indochina peninsula.

The fight waged by our armed forces and people against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists along the northern border has been a bitter fight. Our party has adopted the correct strategy of building increasingly solid defensive positions, defending each bit of soil of the fatherland and employing effective methods of fighting. As a result, we have inflicted many losses upon the enemy.

We have taken a step toward defeating the schemes and tactics of the enemy in their war of sabotage. We routed the FULRO reactionaries and have broken up many other reactionary organizations. We have caught thousands of spies and intelligence agents...

We have started the work of building a national defense system in which all the people participate. We have established and strengthened the battlefield deployment of the people's war nationwide and within each locality. We have improved the quality of the regular army, revamped the organization and management of the three elements of the military and developed militia and self-defense forces. Combining the economy with national defense, the army's participation in economic construction has begun to produce a number of results. While defending our fatherland, we have also coordinated our strategy with the two fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia, thereby maintaining the common security of all three countries of Indochina. Our armed forces and people have fulfilled their international obligation to the two fraternal countries, strengthened our strategic alliance in many different fields and created a fine situation on the Indochina peninsula.

In summary, during the past 5 years, we have won large national defense and security victories, defended the fatherland and fulfilled our international obligation. Our heroic armed forces have performed the tasks assigned them by the fatherland and the people well. Following more than 40 years of fighting continuously and enduring countless hardships and sacrifices, our people have continued to display a high degree of revolutionary heroism and have tenaciously fought to defend the fatherland, defend the gains of their revolution.

The above mentioned victories were won as a result of our party adopting correct positions concerning national defense and security. However, we have also committed a number of shortcomings in the guidance we have provided: the spirit of vigilance is not high and not all the people have been mobilized to effectively resist the enemy's war of sabotage, particularly their economic and ideological sabotage. In the leadership they have provided, many party committees have failed to closely combine the two strategic tasks and have not provided the armed forces with a stable standard of living. Many places have not attached appropriate importance to army rear area work and many negative phenomena are still being allowed to occur.

Having reviewed the performance of the two strategic tasks set by the 5th Congress of the Party, we are fully justified in saying that, during the past 5 years, we recorded large achievements and victories in the cause of building socialism and defending the fatherland. We recorded these achievements under complex circumstances and despite a number of mistakes and shortcomings on our part. Viewed from an overall perspective, the achievements recorded by our people in socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland, in the performance of their national tasks and the fula number of mistakes and shortcomings on our part. Viewed from an overall perspective, the achievements recorded by our people in socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland, in the performance of their national tasks and the fulfillment of their international obligation during the past 5 years have been large. With these achievements, the cause of revolution in our country has acquired new factors that will enable the advance of this cause to continue.

The achievements and victories mentioned above were recorded as a result of many different reasons. Below are the primary reasons:

First, they were recorded as a result of the party's adoption of correct lines. The general line on the socialist revolution and the line on building the socialist economy during the period of transition that were set by the 4th Congress of the Party are correct and creative. The targets and major policies in the initial stage of this period that were adopted by the 5th Party Congress to augment and concretize the general line are correct. After the 5th Party Congress, the Party Central Committee issued many important resolutions, particularly the resolutions of the 6th and 8th Plenums on dismantling the mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and establishing the new mechanism in economic management.

Secondly, they were recorded as a result of the dynamism and creativity displayed by many party organizations, by cadres and party members in applying the lines and policies of the party and state.

Thirdly, they were recorded as a result of our armed forces and people working diligently and fighting bravely. Despite a smaller supply of materials than previously, repeated natural disasters and many difficulties in their everyday lives, workers, farmers and intellectuals produced a volume of products that was markedly larger than the volume produced during the preceding 5 years. The soldiers of the armed forces endured countless hardships and fought tenaciously and intelligently.

Fourthly, we received valuable international assistance and support from the fraternal socialist countries, from friendly countries and many international organizations. In particular, we received enormous, effective assistance in every field from the Soviet Union and enjoyed the assistance and militant solidarity of Laos and Cambodia.

Although our armed forces and people have recorded large achievements and victories, our country still faces many acute difficulties:

--Although the volume of products has increased, productivity, quality and efficiency are very low and have even declined in some areas. Not much wealth is being produced. There are shortcomings in the management of distribution and some of the capital we borrow each year must be allocated to social consumption. Capital formation is not being carried out from within the national economy.

--Agricultural production and industrial production are still unstable. Very few production units possess all the material conditions they need to utilize their existing capacity well.

--The disorder on the circulation and distribution front that has existed for many years, particularly since October 1985, has now become serious and is having a negative impact upon production, the standard of living and society. The imbalances between exports and imports, between supply and demand, between goods and money and between revenues and expenditures are steadily growing. The transformation and management of the market have frequently been lax.

--Millions of laborers do not have a job. The lives of laborers are still hard. Negative phenomena in society are continuing to spread. Some ethical and spiritual values that have been established for many years are being eroded. Party discipline and the law are not being strictly enforced.

We have yet to meet the targets set by the 5th Party Congress of stabilizing the socio-economic situation and stabilizing the living conditions of the people.

The causes of this situation are many.

Objectively, the causes are these: our country is advancing to socialism from small-scale production and its material-technical bases are poor. The consequences of the war and neo-colonialism have been serious. We still must continue to perform the two strategic tasks and fulfill our international obligation, consequently, expenditures on national defense have not been small. The attack by the enemy has been very barbarous and cunning...

Subjectively, the causes have been the following: we have made many mistakes in evaluating the situation and selecting targets, in determining and building the structure of the economy, in building the economic management mechanism, in circulation and distribution, in the struggle between the two paths and in ideological and organizational activities.

While not giving light attention to objective causes, we must admit that the main causes have been the mistakes that we have made.

When we embarked on the stage of the entire country advancing to socialism, our party quickly defined a number of basic issues concerning the line on the socialist revolution. However, we did not proceed on the basis of these gains in theory to research and summarize practice or the new problems arising in the course of development of the revolution and promptly correct incorrect thinking concerning the specific issues involved in socialist construction. This has been our major shortcoming in ideological work.

Our ideological work has also contributed to the achievements of the revolution. However, many mistakes have been made in this work: the selection and assignment of cadres to leadership agencies on the various levels have been marked by many shortcomings, are still based on old concepts, have not met the requirements of changing the structure of the economy and the management mechanism and have allowed the apparata of the state, the party and the mass organizations to become too large and ineffective. Organizing implementation continues to be a very weak area. The style of leadership and work methods are marked by entrenched bureaucracy, are far removed from practice and the masses and violate the principles of party life, particularly the principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership with personal accountability.

Many regulations concerning the work methods of the party and state are not being scrupulously observed. The failure to clarify some matters concerning the functions and assignment of cadres and the work methods and working relationships of party committees and administrations has affected the implementation of lines and policies to a considerable degree. There are many shortcomings in the way that information is organized, in the way staffs are used, in the standards for preparing and approving decisions and in the way that implementation is organized.

The fact that the discipline of the party and the order of the state have been lax in recent years has also been a direct cause of the reduced effectiveness of leadership agencies.

In the approximately 15 years between now and the end of the 20th century, Vietnam's revolution will continue to develop against the background of an international situation that affords us basic advantages but which is also complex in many respects. The three revolutionary currents of our times have won new, large victories and are on the strategic offensive. The forces of the socialist system, the pillar of which is the Soviet Union, have been constantly strengthened in every field and are advancing toward a new and highly dynamic stage of development.

However, the imperialists still possess powerful material forces and are coordinating their strategies in an intense counter-attack against the forces of revolution and peace. The danger of an annihilating nuclear war, for which the imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, are frantically preparing, has never been as large as it is today. But, the struggle being waged by the forces of revolution and peace is capable of reducing this danger. However, the United States and the international reactionaries have not abandoned their imperialist and hegemonist goals. They continue to pursue a policy of instigating wars and local conflicts in many regions, thereby constantly poisoning the international atmosphere. Generally speaking, the world situation will remain in a stage of confrontation and tension intertwined with situations that are entirely local and temporary. In Asia and the Pacific, the U.S. imperialists are pursuing a dangerous strategy aimed at establishing a kind of Eastern NATO that is against the Soviet Union, against the other socialist countries, against the peace movement, national independence and democracy within the region. The United States is seeking ways to strengthen its relations with the ASEAN countries, expanding their military bases in the southern Pacific, preparing to re-establish U.S. military bases in Thailand and collaborating with China against Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

Unwilling to accept defeat, the Chinese reactionaries continue to pursue the dangerous, long-range scheme of conquering and annexing the three countries of Indochina in a vain attempt to turn this important peninsula into a springboard for carrying out their strategy to expand down into Southeast Asia. China is cooperating in many fields with the United States, Japan and other Western countries in order to realize its insane ambition of rapidly making China a superpower that is fully capable of competing to be ruler of the world. China's basic foreign policy continues to be one of closely collaborating with the United States and the other imperialist countries. At the same time, it is employing the tactic of taking advantage of all types of antagonisms, particularly the antagonisms between the two opposing systems, to serve their selfish interests.

In the case of Vietnam, the Chinese reactionaries will increase their military pressure and continue to carry out attacks along the border and wage a wide-ranging war of sabotage by means of increasingly sophisticated and cunning tactics. Our country continues to be in a situation in which it is at peace but must contend with the border war of encroachment and occupation, the scale of which varies. At the same time, we must constantly deal with the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage.

To maintain the independence and freedom of the fatherland and the political security of our people, our entire party, all our people and all our armed forces must strengthen their unity, display a high degree of patriotism, revolutionary heroism and self-reliance and devote the full measure of their spirit and forces to continuing the successful performance of the two strategic tasks of successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

While performing these two strategic tasks, we must continue to strengthen and develop our special alliance with the two fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia and do our very best to strengthen our militant solidarity and improve the quality and effectiveness of our cooperation in every field with the great Soviet Union.

Our party has set forth correct lines on the revolution. The 4th Congress of the Party set the general line on the socialist revolution and the line on building the socialist economy in our country. The 5th Party Congress charted our course in the initial stage of the period of transition and decided the guidelines for socio-economic development in this stage.

To successfully complete the remaining tasks in the initial stage, the upcoming congress of the party will concretize these lines in specific tasks and targets that are consistent with the socio-economic situation in the years ahead.

According to the draft of the Political Report to be presented by the Party Central Committee at the 6th Congress, these tasks and targets are:

1. Stabilizing and developing production, most importantly agricultural production. Restructuring and coordinating basic industrial units in order to make the best possible use of existing production capacity with the aim of supporting the effort to accelerate agricultural production and the production of consumer and export goods. Focusing all efforts on meeting the pressing and vital needs of society and gradually stabilizing and eventually improving the material and cultural lives of the people.

2. Bringing about a significant social change: insuring that the laborer has a job and that distribution to the laborer is correct. Establishing social fairness in a manner consistent with the specific conditions that exist today and reducing the excessive differences in the standard of living that exist among the various population groups. Establishing wholesome social relations and a wholesome way of life and overcoming negative phenomena. Maintaining and building upon revolutionary ethical values and traditions and insuring that everyone, particularly youths, works in an enthusiastic and creative manner, lives a cultured life based on ideals and is committed to the future of the revolution and the fatherland.

3. Carrying out capital formation from within the economy. Making effective use of borrowed capital and aid in the construction of additional material-technical bases of socialism, particularly in energy and infrastructure projects, and establishing the conditions needed to accelerate industrialization in the next stage.

4. Virtually completing socialist transformation by means of appropriate forms and methods. Establishing, in a way that is well coordinated, the new management mechanism, which makes the plan the center of operations and implements economic accounting and socialist business practices in exact accordance with the principle of democratic centralism.

5. Insuring that the needs involved in strengthening our national defense and security are met.

While attaching foremost importance to socialist construction, we must also make the greatest possible effort to firmly defend the socialist fatherland. We must heighten our vigilance, maintain combat readiness and fight well. We must be determined to win victory over each form of the enemy's border war of encroachment and occupation and their wide-ranging war of sabotage. We must win large victories for the cause of defending the fatherland, maintain our political security and social order and safety and fulfill our international obligation to the revolutions of the two countries of Laos and Cambodia well. To carry out these important strategic tasks, it is necessary to display high revolutionary heroism and perform the following large jobs well:

--We must strengthen and complete the defense system along the northern border and in other strategically important areas in order to defeat attacks conducted by the enemy in order to encroach upon and occupy land of ours, defeat each act of military escalation and be prepared to deal with a large-scale war of aggression.

--We must build the national defense system and the strategic rear area with the aim of moving ahead in the following areas: providing an education in national defense; building reserve forces; strengthening the system of combat villages, district military fortresses and defense lines; and formulating mobilization plans and preparing the country for every situation.

--We must build people's armed forces that are strong and solid in every respect; build a regular, people's army that is of increasingly high overall quality, is armed with increasingly modern weapons, has a rational, efficient and strong organization and is well trained; and build powerful reserve forces and widespread militia and self-defense forces that are of high quality.

We must coordinate the efforts of all sectors and levels, from the central to the local levels, of the people and the army in order to meet the needs of combat and combat readiness, meet the essential material and spiritual needs of the armed forces better with each passing day. The army's rear area policies must be implemented correctly.

--We must build and develop the national defense industry. We must combine the economy with national defense, national defense with the economy.

--We must practice strict frugality in national defense expenditures and in each activity of the armed forces.

--Maintaining political security and social order and safety in a manner closely linked to strengthening the national defense system is an extremely important task in winning victory over the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage. We must strengthen the leadership provided by the party and struggle to overcome the lack of vigilance and the lax discipline and compliance with the law on all levels and in all sectors. We must utilize the combined strength of each force and piece of equipment and organize the fight we are waging in a thorough and resolute manner at all basic economic and cultural units, in all population centers and strategically important areas...in order to combat the enemy's economic, political and ideological sabotage, psychological warfare and intelligence and espionage operations.

In conjunction with protecting ourselves and struggling against the enemy on all fronts, we must give our attention to developing the people's public security forces into revolutionary forces that are increasingly pure, solid and strong in every respect, are loyal to the fatherland, the party and the people, meet high professional standards, have a solid base among the masses and are truly an effective instrument of the socialist state.

Our party is urgently making preparations for its 6th Congress. The upcoming congress will review the implementation of the resolutions adopted by previous congresses, correctly evaluate the work we have performed over the past 5 years, analyze what has and has not been accomplished, draw necessary conclusions, correctly assess the status of our country's revolution today and provide precise solutions to problems in order to continue the advance of our country's revolution.

Each of our cadres and party members must see what our country's overall picture is, must adopt a correct point of view when evaluating the situation, must see the achievements and victories that our armed forces and people, under the leadership of our party, have recorded through arduous, steadfast and brave struggle and after much sweat and bloodshed. At the same time, we must be fully aware of our mistakes and shortcomings so that every effort is made to correct them. Only in this way can we continue to advance our country's revolution to new achievements and victories.

Each of our cadres and party members must clearly see what the status of our country's revolution is today, see the advantages in our favor as well as the difficulties we face, see the direction being taken by the revolution and correctly understand the common tasks of the revolution as well as his or her own task.

When assessing the situation, the attitude and method of each of our cadres and party members must be wholly consistent with the views of the party. Only by correctly evaluating the situation can we establish correct targets.

Only by adhering to the views of the party can we clearly understand the situation and tasks of the revolution. Correctly understanding the situation and tasks, this is the basis for achieving stronger consensus within the party and increasing the party's fighting strength.

Therefore, each of our cadres and party members must fully adhere to the views of the party in order to gain a correct understanding of the situation and tasks of our country's revolution at this time.

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CONCERNING OUR SOCIO-ECONOMIC GUIDELINES AND TASKS DURING THE YEARS FROM 1986 TO 1990

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[Article by Tran Kiem]

[Text] On the basis of the current socio-economic situation and the requirements of the revolution in the years ahead, the general target for the remaining years of the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism in our country can be defined as follows: basically stabilizing the socio-economic situation, the most important aspects of which are stabilizing and developing production, stabilizing the market, prices and the financial and monetary systems and stabilizing and partially improving the standard of living of the laboring people while making a determined effort to correct the mistakes of recent years and create the conditions for accelerating socialist industrialization in the next stage.

The 1986-1990 Five Year Plan is a decisive step in meeting this general target. The plan encompasses the following matters of important significance:

1. Correctly arranging the structure of production and the structure of investments.

To successfully implement the general guidelines on the development of production that have been set forth in the economic line of the party, it is necessary to restructure production within the various sectors of the economy and areas of the country and correct irrational aspects of production guidelines and investment guidelines.

To begin with, it is necessary to develop a diversified agriculture (one consisting of agriculture, forestry, fishing and the product processing industries of these sectors). Priority must be given to agriculture, especially priority in the areas of capital, materials and energy. To achieve this objective, it is necessary to tie agriculture and industry to exports and imports within each locality and nationwide, combine the transformation of production relations with the development of production forces and apply scientific and technical advances.

A well coordinated program must be established on the development of grain and food product production. We must endeavor to increase the output of grain to 23-24 million tons, increase per capita grain consumption to roughly 330-360 kilograms and increase the production and supply of the most important food products by 50 to 100 percent by 1990. The structure of grain and food product production must effectively support the effort to improve the diet in a manner consistent with the characteristics and conditions of each area. To do this, it is necessary, in addition to taking other technical measures, to import an adequate quantity of nitrogen fertilizer and necessary pesticides and strongly develop livestock and poultry production in the household, collective and state-operated sectors.

To develop the production of industrial crops of all types, it is necessary to rapidly expand the cultivation of annual crops and steadily develop the production of perennial crops. We must fully support the programs under which we are cooperating with the fraternal countries. During the next 5 years, the amount of area under the cultivation of industrial crops must be increased by 1 million hectares.

As regards forestry, the thrust of our efforts must be to protect existing forest resources and quickly increase the amount of area covered by forests. We must stop the destruction of the forests and prevent forest fires.

Importance must be attached to both cultivating and catching marine products with the aim of achieving an output of 1 million tons by 1990. We must gradually upgrade the sea economy to the status of an important production sector.

In light industry, efforts must be made to produce enough common consumer goods to stabilize the standard of living of the people, establish balance between goods and money and provide the state with enough goods to trade with farmers. Attention must be given to expanding our contract work for foreign countries, beginning with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. We must accelerate the production of such important products as cloth, paper, medicine, building materials, household utensils, learning aids, items used in cultural activities, children's toys, public health implements and physical culture-sports equipment. By 1990, we must be producing 430-450 million meters of cloth and 120,000 to 130,000 tons of paper per year.

To do this, we must attach special importance to resolving the raw material problem and must develop both state-operated industry as well as small industry and the handicraft trades.

The building and development of heavy industry and the communications-transportation sector must be designed to support, first and primarily, agriculture and light industry while making preparations for the acceleration of industrialization in the next stage.

On the basis of this general guideline, priority must be given in the building of heavy industry to the development of energy, which includes electric power, coal and petroleum-gas. We must endeavor to achieve an output of 8-9 billion kwh of electric power and 7.5-8 million tons of washed coal by 1990. We must accelerate the exploration for and development of petroleum and natural gas on the continental shelf in the South. We must give priority to supplying energy to meet key economic and social targets and must practice strict frugality in the use of energy.

In the raw material and building material industries, the fullest possible use must be made of existing production capacity. New construction must be carefully considered and importance must be attached to medium and small-scale units.

We must restructure the machine industry nationwide. Long-term planning must be formulated. Joint businesses and cooperation with the CEMA bloc must be intensified in order to develop the machine industry and the electronics industry.

More importance must be attached to the development of the communications-transportation sector and the infrastructure supporting production, everyday life and national defense. Priority must be given to developing water route transportation, strengthening rail transportation and restructuring highway transportation. We must open additional domestic air cargo lines and a number of lines overseas. We must improve the quality of information and liaison and develop the post-telecommunications network in the mountain provinces and important production areas.

Arranging the structure of the production of the various sectors must be combined with distributing production in a way that is rational among the different areas of the country in a manner consistent with the natural, economic and social conditions and the strategic position of each. Guidelines and a plan for socio-economic development must be adopted for each important area of the country, such as the capital Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, the midland and mountain provinces of the North, the Red River Delta, the provinces of northern Trung Bo, the Central Highland provinces, the central coastal provinces, Eastern Nam Bo and the Mekong Delta.

In arranging the structure of the economy, importance must be attached to building the district so that the district economy develops in a well balanced manner, from production to processing and marketing, and to establishing a correct division of management responsibilities so that the district is the master of production, distribution and circulation, looks after the living conditions of the people and maintains combat readiness.

In capital construction, an effort must be made to invest all capital borrowed from foreign countries, all foreign aid and all capital in form of capital depreciation in construction so that we can begin and gradually increase the formation of capital from within our country's economy. Investment capital must be increased by roughly 35-40 percent compared to the 5 years from 1981 to 1985. The scale of construction must be rational, must be consistent with the actual capabilities of the country. The focus of investments must be correctly defined. Investments must be made in an order of priority: capital must be concentrated on key projects and targets, namely agricultural production, consumer goods and exports. Priority must be given to investing in intensive development and the coordination of existing production capacity...

2. Planning population growth and providing jobs.

Sharply reducing the rate of population growth is a pressing requirement of special importance in the life of the nation today and in the future, is a basic prerequisite to fulfilling socio-economic targets and tasks in the years ahead. An intense effort must be made to reduce the rate of population growth to 1.7 percent and meet the target of a population of less than 66 million in 1990.

To achieve real results, the state must set correct policies and procedures, ones that have an impact upon each specific category of concerned persons in each area. Appropriate investments must also be made in rapidly expanding the birth control technical support network.

To strongly develop the potential sources of labor in society, providing jobs, most importantly to youths, is the foremost socio-economic task in the years ahead. The main guidelines for providing jobs are to accelerate socialist commodity production and make full use of the potentials of the different segments of the economy.

We must expand the local trade sector in order to absorb the majority of surplus labor and new labor while boldly redistributing labor to other areas. During the next 5 years, we must relocate approximately 1 million laborers and 2 million other persons. Together with redistributing labor, we must make an effort to complete the settlement of nomads in the mountain provinces by 1990. We must promulgate and implement a Labor Law.

We must encourage and create the conditions for basic units to find additional work so that they can hire additional labor. We must expand the production of export goods under contracts with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. We must expand our labor cooperation with foreign countries and combine this cooperation with training in manual skills. We must sharply reduce the size of the administrative management labor force and the indirect production labor force.

3. Controlling circulation and distribution.

The situation that exists today demands that we establish and build socialist order on the social market, beginning on the organized market. By employing every type of measure at its disposal, mainly economic, socialist commerce must gain control over practically all wholesale sales, control the majority of retail sales and control the market and prices. The state must have a monopoly in the grain business, the business in strategic materials and the business in essential consumer goods.

We must continuously transform and manage the market and do so in a manner closely linked to transforming and reorganizing production. There must be harsh punishment for acts of economic sabotage, speculation and black marketing. We must also harshly punish persons who conspire, steal and move goods from the state-operated economy to the outside.

The "free" market, which currently exists to the extent necessary and within a given scope, must be controlled and managed so that it augments rather than opposes the organized market.

On the basis of developing production and controlling the market, we must gradually stabilize prices and stabilize the standard of living.

The state must set and manage prices with a view toward developing production and building enthusiasm among laborers to produce. The system of state prices must be planned and scientifically based, must be based on the correct application of objective economic laws. The central state must retain the right to set the prices of primary materials and goods that are sold nationwide and assign to the provincial and municipal administrations the authority to set the prices of secondary goods that are produced and marketed within the locality.

In the immediate future, every effort must be made to correctly implement the price principles, policies and measures set forth in the resolution of the 8th Party Plenum and the subsequent resolutions of the Political Bureau.

We must correct the practice of allowing prices to float as well as the practice of setting and managing prices in a rigid fashion. Price management discipline must be strengthened on the basis of setting correct prices and establishing a rational division of labor and responsibilities.

We must adopt a national financial policy aimed at developing, to the highest degree possible, each source of capital at home (including capital of the people) and abroad and concentrating this capital in the hands of the state in order to develop production and build material-technical bases in a planned manner and with increasingly high productivity, quality and efficiency.

We must collect all revenues from existing sources and create new sources of revenue on the basis of developing domestic production and business and expanding the overseas economy. Expenditures must be in line with needs and consistent with revenue capabilities. To reduce and eventually eliminate the budget deficit, determined steps must be taken to cut those expenditures that exceed revenue capabilities. We must appropriately regulate the income of private merchants and seize the income of persons who earn their livings dishonestly. Financial management responsibilities must be assigned to the localities on the basis of unifying our financial management nationwide.

The operations of the bank must be quickly revamped. In addition to the state's functions of issuing and managing money, the bank must do business in money through the system of specialized banks and promptly meet the needs for capital for production and business. We must tightly manage cash, expand the use of checks in payment transactions and make widespread use of various forms of credit among the people.

Our policy on overseas compatriots must be revised with a view toward attracting foreign currency, attracting capital from outside the country and encourage overseas Vietnamese to make investments and help build the country.

Positive steps must be taken to achieve a balanced budget that is stable both financially and monetarily by the final years of the 1986-1990 plan, thereby creating the conditions for stable development in subsequent years.

4. Accelerating socialist transformation and improving the quality of the new production relations.

Between now and 1990, we must continue to promote this important work with a view toward stimulating the development of production forces.

As regards small producers (in agriculture, the forest industry, the fishing industry, small industry and the handicraft trades), the main guideline is to educate and gradually encourage them to join collective production through increasingly high forms of organization, all based on the principles of voluntary association, mutual benefit and democratic management. We must avoid acting in haste and avoid formalism, which harm production and the life of the people. In the case of the private economy, which will continue to exist in the process of transformation and after transformation, correct management policies and measures must be applied to utilize and guide this segment in helping to create jobs and stabilizing and developing production.

As regards private industry and commerce, the general policy is: to transform and make use of private, capitalist industry in a variety of ways: transforming businesses into state-operated units, joint public-private enterprises or cooperative enterprises. In certain sectors and trades, mainly the production of consumer goods, the state should allow private individuals to develop production and place them under state inventory and control.

The bourgeoisie must be completely removed from commerce.

Small and medium-size merchants must be reorganized, transformed and utilized through many different forms of organization, with those who are not needed as merchants gradually being shifted to production and the services.

The general guideline in socialist transformation is to combine transformation and building, with the emphasis on building.

Of utmost importance is the need to strengthen the forces of socialism so that the state-operated economy and the collective economy dominate and control the national economy. We must develop and improve the state-operated economy and the collective economy in every respect and encourage the development of the household economy to augment the state-operated economy and the collective economy.

5. Widely applying scientific and technical advances.

We must use science and technology as a moving force and a powerful material strength in the development of our country's economy. The strategy for the development of science and technology must be one phase of the strategy for long-term socio-economic development and must set the direction to be taken in scientific and technical work.

In the years ahead, we must organize the rapid and widespread application of scientific and technical advances in production, everyday life and the improvement of management. Science and technology must make large contributions toward the fulfillment of socio-economic targets and tasks and must support the efforts to reorganize production, revamp the management mechanism, raise the productivity, quality and efficiency of production and business and practice frugality.

Guidelines and tasks of a very practical nature must be set with regard to scientific and technical work within agriculture, industry, building, communications-transportation and the service sectors.

A portion of our forces must be devoted to carrying out a number of selected research projects in the modern fields of science and technology, such as the biology industry, new building materials and processes, electronics and information theory... We must avail ourselves of cooperation with the CEMA member countries in order to resolve immediate problems and must take the initiative in preparing scientific-technical premises for changing the structure of the economy in later years.

The natural sciences must promote goal-oriented research into subjects that are closely associated with the natural resources and tropical natural conditions of our country and the Vietnamese people. It is necessary to conduct basic research while attaching importance to applied research in order to gradually establish the leading fields of science and technology of our country.

The social sciences, Marxist-Leninist science, the science of economics and management science must help to answer the pressing questions in the country's life while organizing systematic research into the basis issues of socialist construction and the major issues of our times, which we can and must address.

We must establish and organize the successful implementation of key programs associated with socio-economic targets.

To implement the guidelines and perform the tasks mentioned above, it is necessary to reorganize and make more effective use of our scientific and technical forces and even encourage contributions to the building of the country by overseas Vietnamese intellectuals. Scientific agencies must also be restructured with the aim of creating favorable conditions for carrying out the research to production process as quickly as possible.

We must train and build a large and well coordinated corps of scientific and technical cadres who possess all the necessary qualities and skills, with importance attached to the training of leading cadres. Investments in science must be increased. We must expand and increase the effectiveness of international cooperation in the fields of science and technology and must closely tie this cooperation to economic cooperation.

The new economic management mechanism demands and encourages the introduction and widespread application of scientific achievements and technical advances in practice.

We must institute weights and measures inspections and standardization, particularly quality control in production, in circulation-distribution and for export goods.

The mass movement to launch attacks on the science and technology front must be promoted.

6. Expanding and increasing the returns from the overseas economy.

Developing the overseas economy is a major strategy of the party and state.

The overseas economic policy of our country is, first and primarily, to expand our cooperative relations in every field with the Soviet Union and the CEMA member countries, with the two fraternal neighboring countries of Laos and Cambodia. On the other hand, we seek to expand our economic and scientific-technical relations with the countries of the Third World, the developed industrial countries, international organizations and private foreign parties on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

As regards exports, we must make concerted, well coordinated investments, enact policies that provide broad incentives and establish a tight organization and close management so that we can export various products and have sources of primary exports that are of high quality. In the next 5 years, we must nearly double the value of our exports and overseas services.

We must flexibly employ a variety of overseas economic activities, such as cooperation in production and the coordination of investments; product trade; scientific and technical cooperation and the training of cadres and workers; the development of tourist activities; labor cooperation, international transportation, ship supply services...

We must implement the principles of the state exercising a monopoly in foreign trade and the central level exclusively managing foreign trade and foreign exchange. We must create the conditions for large exporting units to approach customers in foreign countries.

Each import activity must be consistent with and support socio-economic targets and the tasks and norms of the state plan. We must closely manage imports and make economical and effective use of the various sources of foreign currency and the various types of import goods.

We must promulgate an Investment Law and create favorable conditions for investments by foreign countries.

We must promote economic cooperation of many different kinds with Laos and Cambodia, including a division of labor and cooperation in production and the coordination of investments with the aim of insuring that the economies of all three fraternal countries on the Indochina peninsula benefit and develop well.

Of decisive significance in performing good overseas economic work are the establishment of strong overseas economic organizations and the training of a corps of overseas economic cadres who possess good personal qualities and are truly competent.

7. Revamping the economic management mechanism.

The purpose of revamping the economic management mechanism is to build the spirit of ownership of the laboring people under the centralized management of the state in order to develop the economy with increasingly high productivity, quality and efficiency.

The basic thinking behind the revamping of the economic management mechanism is to dismantle bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and shift entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices.

The new management mechanism must creatively apply the following fundamental principles:

--It must correctly implement the principle of democratic centralism in economic management and the principle "the party leads, the laboring people exercise ownership, the state manages" at each basic unit, on each level and nationwide.

--It must make the plan the center of operations, implement economic accounting and socialist business practices and correctly apply the objective economic laws that are having an impact upon our country's economy, which include the characteristic laws of socialism and the laws of commodity production.

--It must closely tie authority to interests, responsibility to obligations, combine the three interests in a way that is well balanced and implement the principle of distribution in accordance with labor.

--It must combine the use of the various measures in management, with economic measures playing the basic role. It must uphold discipline and the socialist system of law, particularly economic law.

--It must combine management by sector with management by locality and territory, combine state administrative management with production and business management.

In order for planning to increasingly have a decisive impact upon economic development in accordance with correct guidelines, it must be scientifically based. The planning of production, especially the production of consumer goods, must be based on the needs of society. And, planning methods must be consistent with the country's economic situation. These methods must be consistent from the standpoint of basic principles. At the same time, they must be very flexible and diverse, must be compatible with the special conditions of each sector and each locality, that is, must be both direct and indirect methods, must utilize the system of legal norms and directed norms to an appropriate degree while attaching importance to using economic levers to guide basic production and business units in accordance with the guidelines and targets of the state plan.

The new management mechanism, which is closely linked to the new structure of the economy, must insure that all three levels, the central level, the local level and the basic level, are the masters of the economy. While guaranteeing the production and business independence and establishing the financial autonomy of the basic unit, the new management mechanism must insure that the central level resolves the key issues, controls the basic balances and controls the primary products of the national economy. At the same time, it must vigorously develop the ownership role of the locality, particularly the district level.

The administrative-economic management agencies on all levels must be streamlined, the size of administrative staffs must be reduced and economic and scientific staff organizations must be strengthened.

8. Carrying out cultural and social development.

In the years ahead, it is necessary to develop education and training in the direction of improving the quality and increasing the effectiveness of education and training so that they meet requirements, are consistent with our ability to build the economy, combine learning with productive labor and forge and cultivate the new man.

We must continue the reform of the general school and trade training education system. We must gradually popularize basic general school education and train the majority of basic general school graduates as technically skilled laborers representing a rational structure of sectors and trades. Curricula must encompass both academic knowledge and work skills.

We must improve the quality of college, vocational middle school and post-graduate education and combine teaching and learning with scientific research and productive labor.

The training objectives of all levels of education and all types of schools must be consistent with assigned tasks. Attention must be given to teaching aesthetics, cultivating physical fitness and teaching national defense subjects. Importance must be attached to teaching politics, ideology, revolutionary ethics and the law at schools.

We must gradually complete the national education system so that it meets the cadre needs of the various sectors and areas as well as the need to raise the level of education and the occupational standards of the laborer.

We must build the corps of teachers, elevate the position of the teacher in society and support the material and spiritual lives of teachers. Attention must be given to the living conditions of students at boarding schools and an appropriate scholarship policy must be enacted.

The quality of cultural work, literature and art must be improved in many different areas, particularly in the areas of ideology and educational value.

We must struggle to abolish the remnants of feudal culture, colonialist culture and bourgeois culture and promptly expose and defeat the schemes and actions employed by the enemy to use culture, literature and art to sow the seeds of pessimism in our society and spread various types of reactionary thinking and a decadent way of life. We must eradicate superstitious beliefs and practices, combat corrupt customs and spread the new, civilized way of life.

We must build the corps of persons working in the fields of culture, literature and art and look after their material and spiritual lives. A correct subsidy policy must be enacted for art units. We must cultivate in writers and artists the communist philosophy of life and the scientific world view; overcome the negative phenomena in art activities; and reorganize and improve the mechanism and mode of management of this work.

We must develop the system of libraries, clubs, cultural centers, museums and tradition halls. We must do an even better job of publishing and distributing books and newspaper and must strongly improve the mass media. Appropriate investments must be made in cultural, literary and art work. This work must be led and guided more closely by the party and state.

As regards public health work, we must thoroughly practice preventive medicine and combine modern medicine with traditional medicine. We must strengthen and develop the district, ward, precinct and basic unit public health networks. The quality and effectiveness of public health activities, the disease prevention hygiene movement, epidemic prevention and control efforts and medical treatment must be improved. Importance must be attached to training public health and medical cadres. We must accelerate scientific research and develop the medical science of Vietnam.

To overcome the shortage of medicine and public health implements, we must continue to strengthen and vigorously develop the pharmaceuticals industry and the production of commonly used public health equipment and implements. At the same time, we must develop the cultivation, processing and use of medicinal herbs at basic units and establish areas specifically for the cultivation of pharmaceutical crops.

Efforts must be made to gradually improve the living conditions of the corps of public health cadres.

We must build the socialist system of physical culture and sports and maintain and improve the physical fitness of all the people, most importantly the young generation.

We must expand and improve the quality of the mass physical culture and sports movement. We must organize the physical culture and sports activities at schools well. We must discover and train talented young athletes and quickly record new achievements and set new records in a number of sports.

As regards retired persons, it is necessary to guarantee their standard of living through the real wage. Depending upon their health, we must gain the participation of retired persons and the disabled in production and service activities, in political and social work and in the education of the young generation.

As regards war invalids, families of war dead and demobilized military personnel, we must thoroughly implement the preferential policies that have been promulgated by the party and state. We must take special care of seriously disabled war invalids and families who are short of help and give priority to providing jobs to war invalids and demobilized military personnel.

We must take care of orphans and the disabled. We must educate or reeducate the victims of the old society and create the conditions for them to lead wholesome lives.

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GUARANTEEING AND DEVELOPING THE RIGHT OF COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP OF THE LABORING PEOPLE AND THE MANAGEMENT ROLE OF THE STATE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 86 pp 31-36

[Article by Nguyen Liem]

[Text] The Right of Collective Ownership of the Laboring People--One of the Important Lessons and Experiences

The 4th Congress and the 5th Congress of the Party defined the salient characteristics of our country in the period of transition to socialism and during the initial stage of this period as: our country is advancing directly to socialism and bypassing the stage of capitalist development under the circumstances of an economy in which small-scale production still predominates, an economy that consists of many different segments and produces a very low output of goods, an economy whose material-technical bases were heavily damaged in 30 years of war and which is in a state of imbalance with regard to the supply of and demand for grain, food products, energy, raw materials, supplies and infrastructure facilities. In addition, our country has been unable to focus its efforts on economic construction because of the need to deal with the border war of encroachment and occupation and the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other international reactionaries.

On the basis of these characteristics, our party has adopted correct lines aimed at building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland. In these lines, the right of collective ownership of the laboring people is both the goal of and the moving force behind the socialist revolution. It must be codified, must take the form of economic, political and social policies. It must be through the management activities conducted by the socialist state under the leadership of the party.

Summarizing the experience of past years, particularly the past 5 years, our party maintains that successes as well as mistakes and shortcomings are closely related to whether or not the right of collective ownership of the laboring people is respected. This is one of the most profound lessons we have learned.

Following more than 10 years of carrying out the socialist revolution nationwide, a new society has been born on the basis of abolishing exploitation and oppression and establishing the public ownership of the primary means of production. A socialist community of free and equal laborers has come into being. Our people possess the basic conditions needed to implement their right of collective ownership in the fields of politics, the economy and social life. The structure of the classes has changed: the working class is now the leading class. The working class, the class of collective farmers and the stratum of socialist intellectuals have become the main forces of social development. A political and spiritual consensus, although only in the initial stages of formation, has become a new and large force in our society. Large numbers of laboring masses have clearly displayed their sense of ownership through the product contract movement in agriculture, through the movement to step up production and make technical improvements in industry, small industry, the handicraft trades and other sectors of the economy, through the tenacious and brave fight being waged on the border of the fatherland and the widespread movement in the rear area to support the frontlines and through the specific movements being carried out by the various circles of society to build the new culture and the new way of life. Our state has taken a step forward in guaranteeing the rights and interests of the laborer as owner and has closely combined the three interests: the interests of the state, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborer.

Clearly, the achievements that have been recorded by the revolution are the combined results of performing our two strategic tasks, of simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions. They are also the results of the laboring people exercising their right of collective ownership. If we recall the very difficult period of 1979 and 1980, when agricultural production stagnated, when many industrial enterprises operated irregularly or ceased operating entirely as a result of the shortage of raw materials and when the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists tightened their two prongs of aggression in a vain attempt to annex our country, it is clear that the credit for overcoming these difficulties belongs first to the laboring people exercising collective ownership.

Obviously, when the right of collective ownership is upheld, a new strength, an extremely powerful moving force emerges.

However, we must take a hard look at the actual situation and determine what is impeding the exercise of collective ownership by the laboring people and preventing revolutionary movements from becoming truly intense and widespread movements of the masses.

Our people are blessed with a wealth of talent and energy. They have been forged and challenged for many years. They are very patriotic and love socialism. In addition, they are very diligent workers, are intelligent and creative. But the talents, knowledge and experience of the citizen are not being utilized in a manner commensurate with the citizen's role as master of the country. Many procedures and policies based on the old management mechanism still impede and restrict the display of initiative and creativity by the masses. Within enterprises, cooperatives and agencies, the people's right of ownership has yet to be codified. The rights, obligations and interests of the citizen have not been satisfactorily guaranteed.

Moreover, many localities and many state agencies have seriously violated the democratic rights and rights of freedom of the citizen. The phenomena of despotism, arrogance, authoritarianism, abuse of authority, suppression of others...continue to be widespread.

The negative phenomena occurring in the various socio-economic sectors, at places such as stores, hospitals, bus depots, railroad stations, tax offices, labor and military recruiting offices and dictatorship agencies of the state and the shortcomings and mistakes involving the personal qualities of cadres and party members have considerably affected the prestige of the party and state and reduced the confidence and zeal of the masses.

It has come time for a determined effort to rectify these shortcomings so that we can strongly develop the revolutionary spirit of the masses.

What Must Be Done To Guarantee the Right of Collective Ownership of the Laboring People?

To eliminate the causes of those things that impede the implementation of the right of collective ownership, it is first of all necessary to guarantee the rights, interests and obligations of the citizen and cultivate in citizens the concept of being an owner and the ability to exercise ownership.

The laborer as owner must first be the master of his labor, must work in a disciplined, technically skilled and efficient manner. Everyone, mental laborers as well as manual laborers, ordinary laborers as well as cadres who hold public positions, must make worthy contributions to the building of the country.

The collectives of laborers directly control the economic process at enterprises and cooperatives and the social activities conducted within the subward and hamlet. They must have appropriate rights and obligations with regard to formulating and implementing production and business plans, organizing production and distributing labor, selecting management cadres, utilizing the various funds of the basic unit and inspecting and supervising the activities of enterprise and cooperative directors. They must play an active role in social activities within the subwards and hamlets; in the circulation and distribution of economic products; in the supplying of everyday services and the organizing of cultural, educational and public health activities; in the maintenance of social order and safety; in the establishment and management of interpersonal relations; and in the inspection and supervision of the work of the administration and the qualities of cadres and party members.

The responsible agencies of the party and state must take measures to eradicate the negative phenomena within the corps of cadres, party members and state personnel. In particular, they must put an immediate end to actions that violate the rights of citizens and must prosecute these actions in exact accordance with state law. The party organizations on all levels must restructure their organization and resolutely expel from their ranks self-serving elements who use the name of the party and state to oppress the masses and extort wealth from the people in order to insure that our state is truly the representative of the rights of the people, is the servant of the people, as was often taught by President Ho Chi Minh. Agencies that deal with the public on a day to day basis, that serve the people must change the way they provide their services and make it convenient for the people to shop, receive medical treatment and travel. Agencies of the court, control agencies, security agencies, tax offices and so forth must be strengthened by removing from them undesirable elements who accept bribes, intimidate the people or support elements who undermine the discipline and order of the state. Persons whose qualities are above question must be put in charge of agencies that are in charge of housing and land, the selection of persons for schools, the recruiting of labor and military inductions, agencies that control materials, goods and so forth.

The pillar of socialist society is strong collectives of laborers that consist of new persons who subscribe to communist ideals and the communist philosophy of life, whose approach to life is "one for all, all for one," who live a simple, wholesome and cultured life, live through their own labor and cooperate and help one another for the sake of the fatherland. Building such collectives obviously entails a long process. However, effective steps must be immediately taken to build these collectives, to enhance, perfect and increase the number of models of new persons that have emerged everywhere in our country, representative of which are the heroic individuals and units and emulation warriors. At the same time, we must sternly denounce ways of life that are characterized by selfishness and parasitism, by the pursuit of money, by serving one's interests to the detriment of the interests of others, by serving the interests of the individual while hurting the state and by wasteful extravagance.

In the work of molding the new man and building the system of collective ownership, political-ideological education and work in the fields of culture, literature and art occupy a very important position. Through profound and lively forms of propaganda and education, we can make a strong impact upon the thinking, attitudes, feelings and way of life of the citizen, gradually make inroads against negative phenomena and create more and more positive factors. In this work, mass organizations, such as the trade union, the association of collective farmers, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, the Vietnam Women's Union, the Vietnam Fatherland Front, literary and art societies, the associations of scientists and technicians, the associations of specialized workers, the organizations of the ethnic minorities, religious followers, overseas Vietnamese...play an extremely large role.

Depending upon whom their membership represents, these organizations must revamp their mode of operation, maintain close contact with their members and take the initiative in developing forms of activity that are compatible with the characteristics of their circle with the aim of making an impact upon both the reason and sentiments of their membership, building a high spirit of patriotism and deep love of socialism, achieving increasingly strong unity and consensus and helping everyone to fully develop his or her talents and intelligence so that everyone can make the largest possible contributions to building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland.

Strengthening the Socialist State, the Primary Tool of the System of Collective Ownership

In keeping with the principles of Marxism-Leninism concerning the party when it is in power and on the basis of the realities of our country, our party created the mechanism of collective ownership: the party leads, the state manages and the people exercise ownership. Within this mechanism, the socialist state is the primary tool used to build the system of collective ownership. It is the organ of political power organized by the working class and laboring people themselves. Under the leadership of the party, it has the function of codifying in laws the authority, interests and obligations of collective ownership of the laboring people. At the same time, it manages economic and social activities in accordance with the law.

When the right of the party to lead is secure, the state operates in accordance with the party's lines and views and, as a result, becomes strong. Conversely, as the state grows stronger, the party becomes stronger also and the people exercise ownership better. Therefore, to reduce the effectiveness of the state is to weaken the leadership of the party and directly violate the right of collective ownership of the people. Only by increasing the management effectiveness of the state is it possible to mobilize large forces of the masses to complete each political task set by the party and, as a result, strengthen the ties between the party and the masses.

Our state apparatus is currently very cumbersome and ineffective. It is built of many different layers and echelons. The jobs and tasks of organizations and the jobs and standards of cadres are not clearly defined. The trend in some sectors is to divide the sector into many specialized and self-contained agencies and units. Many organizations duplicate one another's function or operate at cross purposes. The assignment of cadres and personnel is not compatible with the tasks that must be performed. Many persons have not been trained and lack specialized knowledge or have been trained but have not been properly assigned. Procedures and responsibilities are not clearly defined. Work methods lean heavily toward protocol and paper work. An excessive number of meetings is held yet decisions are made slowly and are frequently not conclusive. The organization of the implementation of decisions is also weak. Bureaucracy is still entrenched, as seen in the following three areas: the apparatus consists of many layers and echelons; many procedures and policies are inappropriate; and work methods are removed from the masses.

One of the causes of this situation is that we have maintained the mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies far too long, thus causing the management provided by the state to lack dynamism and thoroughness, which has resulted in a lack of centralism and also a lack of democracy and effectiveness. The results are that production is impeded and cannot develop; the right of collective ownership of the laboring people cannot be fully upheld in practical terms; persons who steal have much, persons who work have little; the productivity, quality and efficiency of production have declined; little is being produced and the circulation of that which is produced is obstructed, thereby causing prolonged difficulties, such as inflation, unstable prices, an unstable standard of living and the development of negative phenomena that are eroding spiritual and ethical values.

Many recent resolutions of the Party Central Committee and the Political Bureau provide us with guidance in how to improve the management of the state by dismantling bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and shifting entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices.

We must establish and implement a state management mechanism that reflects the right of collective ownership of the laboring people on all levels. We must strengthen the state apparatus from the central to the local and basic levels and make it a unified system in which there is a clear division of tasks, authority and responsibilities on each level in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism and the principle of combining management by sector with management by locality and territory in a manner consistent with the special features of the socio-economic situation and the structure of the economy. This apparatus must be streamlined and competent. It must codify lines and policies in the form of laws. It must concretize socio-economic strategy in the form of socio-economic development plans. It must operate on the basis of the new mechanism, with productivity, quality and economic efficiency being its most important standards. It must manage economic and social activities in exact accordance with the law and maintain the discipline of the state and social order. It must establish and implement a code of scientific and highly efficient work regulations. It must build and organize a corps of cadres who are competent in all facets of management.

In its management, our state must give its attention to distinguishing between and properly providing two types of management: administrative management (by means of laws, plans, policies, organization and so forth) and production and business management (through the various production and business organizations). The establishment of correct laws, procedures and policies is of decisive significance. If, in recent years, we had dismantled the mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies quickly and adopted correct policies on investments, prices and circulation-distribution, production would have surely developed more than it has, farmers would not be indifferent about production, factories would have many more domestically produced raw materials and supplies, "gray matter" would not be wasted and scientists and technicians would be able to properly display their talents and intelligence. Correct laws, procedures and policies not only cause production to develop, but also strengthen the alliance of workers and farmers, strengthen the unity and consensus among the various strata of the people, which then become a strong moving force in socialist construction.

To increase the management effectiveness of the state, we must build upon the role of the National Assembly as the highest body of power, the functions of which are to research and discuss lines and policies of the party, turn them into laws of the state, supervise each activity of state agencies, which even extends to removing persons from office, maintain contact with the people and be the embodiment of their opinions and aspirations. We must develop the role of the people's councils on the various levels and correct the practice of the activities of these agencies being activities in form only because their work has been taken over by the various party committee echelons ans. We must develop the role of the people's councils on the various levels and correct the practice of the activities of these agencies being activities in form only because their work has been taken over by the various party committee echelons and because many people's committees still give light attention to it. We must strengthen the role of the Council of Ministers and the people's committees on the various levels along the lines of improving their ability to guide, manage and organize the implementation of the positions and measures of the party and state. Of pressing immediate importance are the needs to restructure and reduce the number of ministries, state commissions and general departments; streamline administrative management staffs; and restructure the system of scientific-technical institutes, schools, departments, corporations and administrative and service elements, shifting the majority of them to operations that are based on cost accounting and closely tied to production and business.

Strengthening the socialist system of law is an important part of improving the management of the state. We must amend, revise and refine the system of law and management policies. We must widely publicize and provide a widespread education in the law so that it is clearly understood and obeyed by everyone. We must conduct inspections and perform control work on a regular basis, harshly deal with every violation of the law by individuals as well as organizations and prevent every possibility of a cover up.

Our state must also revamp its work procedures and style of work so that correct and timely decisions can be made and implemented well, thereby putting an end to the administrative and bureaucratic approach to work with its many intermediary echelons, the slowness with which work is performed and the many complex and bothersome procedures. At the same time, we must organize a scientific and accurate system of information.

Finally, to increase the management effectiveness of the state, we must have a corps of skilled, competent and experienced cadres who possess revolutionary political qualities and ethics and are assigned to positions in a way that is rational.

In the final analysis, the purpose of increasing the management effectiveness of the state is to implement the right of collective ownership of the laboring people. This is the Marxist-Leninist view that the revolution is the undertaking of the masses. Everything must be done by and for the people: "Without the people's support, nothing can be accomplished, no matter how easy it might be; with their support, everything can be accomplished, no matter how difficult it might be." This, however, is not a lesson that is just being learned now. Our ancient forefathers had their roots among the people. Roots that run deep are strong roots. During the period preceding the uprising and up until the August Revolution, in the war of resistance against France, in the resistance against the United States and in the fight against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, our party has done the very same thing. Today, as we advance to socialism, our party must do this even more, particularly in light of the successes and mistakes of the past 5 years. The key to the goal of creating intense, widespread revolutionary movements of the masses lies therein. We are confident that, with policies that are consistent with the aspirations of the people, with a state management system that is entirely for and by the people, with teaching the people to display a high spirit of collective ownership and with determined efforts to correct those things that reflect remoteness from the masses, we will surely attain this goal.

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INCREASING THE LEADERSHIP ABILITY AND FIGHTING STRENGTH OF THE PARTY

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[Article by Phan Chinh]

[Text] The historical experience of our country's revolution and the international communist movement confirm that the leadership of the communist party is the decisive factor in the victory of the proletarian revolution. Strengthening the leadership role of the party is a law in the development of socialist society.

At present, our country is in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. The scale, magnitude and complexity of socio-economic development tasks, the sharp struggle between the "two paths" and the bitter struggle between our people and expansionism-hegemonism and imperialism demand that we constantly increase the leadership ability and fighting strength of the party.

In the current stage, increasing the leadership ability and fighting strength of the party means causing the party to grow and mature even more from the standpoint of formulating, developing and concretizing lines, advancing correct solutions that enable us to meet targets that have been set and raising the practical organizational standards and skills of the organizations of the party and the managerial and coordinating skills of the state apparatus. To accomplish this, the party must change and improve the way it does things. In particular, it must revamp its concepts and thinking, revamp its apparatus and forms of organization, revamp its cadre work and revamp its workstyle and methods. Party committees must fully recognize the need to build the party and give more attention to this work. They must take a hard look at the situation. They must see what their strengths are in order to build upon them. They must also see what all their shortcomings and mistakes are in order to rectify them. They must concern themselves with strengthening and building the party in every respect with a view toward making our party increasingly pure, solid and strong so that it is fully capable of meeting the requirements of socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland.

In the immediate future efforts must be focused on performing the following primary tasks well:

1. Upgrading the corps of cadres and strengthening leadership and management agencies.

This is a pressing requirement, is the most important matter that the party must address in order to stimulate the advance of the revolution.

In recent years, we have gradually strengthened and improved the skills of the corps of cadres. Our cadres have gradually grown and matured in their leadership of economic construction and management and state management. Generally speaking, however, the progress made has been slow and the quality of the corps of cadres still does not meet the requirements of the revolution.

Upgrading the corps of cadres means selecting and reassigning cadres and successfully strengthening the leadership agencies of the party and state, staff and combined agencies, the important economic, social, national defense and security sectors and the key job positions of the provinces and districts and the important basic units of the national economy. At the same time, we must concern ourselves with training a corps of cadres who possess the knowledge and skills needed to provide leadership and management, possess the new style of work, possess high fighting strength and are able to meet new requirements.

To upgrade the corps of cadres, we must firmly adhere to cadre standards and revise our views with regard to the evaluation of cadres. We must measure the qualities and capabilities of cadres on the basis of the efficiency with which they perform political tasks and must assign cadres on the basis of the requirements of political tasks. The tasks of the socialist revolution, most importantly, economic construction tasks, demand that we have cadres who possess suitable qualities and skills. These are cadres who subscribe to the new economic thinking, who adhere to and know how to creatively apply the lines and policies of the party, who are dynamic, active and sensitive to the new, who think boldly, are inquisitive and dare to change old work methods and practices and can plan production and business so that high economic efficiency is achieved. Through the dismantling of the mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and the shift to the new management mechanism, many talented cadres are emerging. We must promptly discover and promote these talents.

In the case of leadership cadres and management cadres, besides knowledge and organizational skills, special importance must be attached to the matter of political qualities and to whether or not they firmly adhere to the working class stand, thoroughly understand the lines of the party, are dynamic and creative while adhering to the economic management principles of socialism, possess a high sense of organization and discipline, display a good style of leadership, are frugal and simple, set examples in their way of life and unite and rally everyone around them.

The upgrading of the corps of cadres must be carried out in an urgent and resolute but cautious and well coordinated manner, with attention given to results. We must avoid being subjective or hasty, avoid formalism, avoid creating unnecessary disruptions. The selection of cadres must be made in an objective and unbiased manner based on the common interests of the revolution and the unified cadre policy of the party. Everything that reflects individualism, localism, a lack of fairness, bureaucracy or a lack of thoroughness leads to negative consequences in the assignment and deployment of cadres and adversely affects the performance of the political task and the unity within the party.

In the present situation, "rejuvenating" the corps of cadres, increasing the number of young cadres at leadership and management agencies and correctly combining elderly cadres with young cadres are matters of utmost importance and will insure continuity and succession within the party's leadership agencies. Because we have been performing this work very slowly in recent years, the average age of leadership cadres has been steadily rising. The concept of a hierarchy and respect for a feudal style of order are still quite prevalent among many comrades. Some comrades always find one reason or another to postpone the promotion of young cadres. Party committees must establish the preparation of the corps of successor cadres as a constant task and make this task part of their planning. Leadership cadres have the responsibility of working with the collective to select and train young cadres in an impartial and unbiased manner. Elderly cadres who are highly experienced have the obligation of supporting and assisting successor cadres.

Of course, the training of successor cadres must be conducted in accordance with a set of standards based on strict principles. Academic training at schools must be combined with practical training. On the basis of the strengths, weaknesses and prospects for the development of cadres, they must be assigned to a series of job positions at which they are needed in order to make it possible for them to grow and mature. Rotating cadres on a planned basis will help them to acquire foresight, broad knowledge and comprehensive leadership abilities and skills.

The evaluation of cadres and the selection and promotion of cadres depend very heavily upon cadre management. Only with a correct cadre management mechanism is it possible to accurately evaluate cadres, correctly select and promote cadres and preclude the possibility of unexpected factors and unwholesome motives arising in cadre work. Party committees must consider cadre management to be an important, indispensable function in their leadership work. It is necessary to establish a division of labor and responsibilities in the management of cadres, define authority, responsibilities and the relations between party and state agencies, between the sector and the locality, between the upper level and the lower level and define the procedures, methods and standards involved in the selection, evaluation, promotion and transfer of cadres so that cadre management is put on a regular basis and the principle of democratic centralism is correctly implemented in cadre work.

2. Improving the style of work and maintaining the principles of organization and life within the party.

In recent years, besides the strongpoint of trying to perform work in accordance with principles and regulations, there have also been many manifestations of bureaucratic centralism, paternalism and arbitrariness, of not listening to the opinions of the lower level and not tapping the intelligence of the collective. At the same time, decentralization, localism and a lack of organization and discipline have reduced the effectiveness of party leadership and reduced the party's fighting strength. We must harshly criticize and make every effort to correct these shortcomings, strictly implement the principle of democratic centralism and take determined, urgent steps to restore order and strengthen the discipline within the party and state apparatus. The party requires that all levels and sectors strictly comply with the lines and policies of the party and speak and act in accordance with the resolutions of the upper level and the collective. Each cadre and party member, with the exception of none, must obey the discipline of the party. All dynamism and creativity must be displayed within the framework of the lines and policies of the party. No leader is permitted to place himself outside the organization or to assume the right to talk and act in a manner contrary to a decision of the collective.

On the other hand, we must strengthen collective leadership and broaden the practice of democracy in party life. Each important position must be collectively discussed and decided on the basis of fully researching and analyzing the creative experiences of basic units and the localities and surveying the opinions of the masses, of specialists and scientific cadres. Leadership cadres must maintain close contact with and listen to the opinions of the lower level and must calmly listen to opinions that are contrary to theirs. Only by speaking forthrightly, by expressing all different opinions and discussing them in a truly democratic fashion is it possible to arrive at the truth.

Improving the quality of the activities of party chapters and party committees and intensifying the practice of self-criticism and criticism are an important requirement in revamping the style of leadership and work methods. Only by bravely and squarely facing the truth, by seriously practicing self-criticism and criticism can we see our strengths in order to build upon them and see all our shortcomings in order to rectify them. Concealing shortcomings, exaggerating achievements, deceiving the upper level, practicing self-criticism and criticism in a form for form's sake manner, being indulgent toward certain persons or suppressing and retaliating against persons who express criticism are not permitted. In the recent self-criticism and criticism campaign, by conducting self-criticism and criticism in a serious and democratic manner, many levels and sectors discovered and took positive steps to rectify a number of shortcomings and began to strengthen the confidence of party members and the masses. We must build upon these results and make self-criticism and criticism a regular practice in party life.

The struggle against bureaucracy must be given much more attention. Within many agencies of the party and state there are still red tape, an excessive number of meetings, little investigation or research of the actual situation, delays in the performance of work, ostentatiousness, formalism and ineffectiveness. Many leadership cadres do not spend an appropriate amount of time visiting basic units and meeting with the masses to gain an understanding of the situation, hear the opinions of the lower level and basic units and promptly resolve specific problems on the spot. Some party committees have not maintained their inspection work nor do they periodically adopt inspection programs that focus on jobs of central importance or key units. As a result, they have not reached clear conclusions concerning right and wrong in order to guide the effort to rectify and correct mistakes.

It is necessary to draw experience in order to amend and refine the work regulations of party and state organizations, build the sense of respecting and the habit of working in accordance with regulations and combating the attitude of doing as one sees fit. A number of specific work regulations and specific regulations on internal activities must be adopted and immediately implemented, beginning with regulations on conferences, inspections, self-criticism and criticism and contacts with the masses.

3. Improving the revolutionary qualities of cadres and party members and struggling against negative phenomena within the party.

At present, our party has nearly 2 million members. At turning points in the revolution and in the face of economic and social difficulties and difficulties with the standard of living, large numbers of cadres and party members have maintained their revolutionary qualities, maintained their pure and wholesome way of life and made efforts to learn more and forge themselves in order to improve their job skills, complete the task assigned to them well and be worthy of being vanguard revolutionary militants. However, within the corps of party members, there are still many negative phenomena that have not been stopped, even some that are developing. This is a serious matter that has paralyzed the fighting strength of many party organizations and eroded the party's prestige.

We must concern ourselves with successfully cultivating revolutionary qualities in cadres and party members and wage a determined struggle against negative phenomena within the party. Every cadre and party member must study and follow the example of ethics and style set by Uncle Ho, uphold and enhance the noble title of communist party member, display high revolutionary ethics, combat individualism and be worthy of being the leader and the loyal servant of the people. We must think and act in the interest of communist ideals, in the interests of the revolution, not for the sake of personal position and fame. We must be honest and not lie, must say little but do much, must do what we say, must respect the right of ownership of the people and must always be close to the people. We must resolutely oppose the thinking and way of life of pursuing material things, money, selfish interests or commercial gain, of stealing public property and violating socialist property.

The effort to cultivate revolutionary qualities in cadres and party members can only achieve good results if it takes the form of a work program, of specific regulations that deal with all facets of organization. Party committees must adopt plans for closely managing and inspecting the activities and qualities of party members, including those who are leadership cadres. Party members who commit serious mistakes involving their qualities and ethics must be dealt with in a resolute and strict but fair manner. We must continue to purify the corps of party members by immediately expelling elements that have degenerated or become deviant, persons who are embezzlers or black marketers, persons who are despotic and arbitrary, who lack organization and discipline... Publicly reporting in the press or reporting during activities of the party organization or mass organizations a number of cadres and party members, including high ranking cadres, who have committed serious mistakes involving their personal qualities will have the effect of teaching party members to prevent mistakes and will increase the people's trust in the party. In educating and forging party members, we must make combined use of many measures. We must combine dismantling the old management mechanism and building the new with managing and educating party members. We must combine mobilizing the masses to struggle against negative phenomena with the control work of the state and inspection work of the party. Party chapters must assign their members to the proper job and combine the teaching of theory to party members with providing them with practical training on the job. As regards retired party members, the party committee can assign them suitable jobs at the basic unit based on the specific circumstances of each person and must concern itself with caring for the living conditions and health of comrades who are experiencing many difficulties.

It is necessary to attract and accept into the party outstanding persons who emerge within revolutionary movements of the masses in order to bring new strength to the party. Attention must be given to insuring the quality of party members from the time they are selected and accepted into the party. Party membership must be increased among manual workers, women and the ethnic minorities. Party members must be distributed in a way that is rational. More must be sent to areas and basic units where there are very few party members.

4. Increasing the fighting strength of the basic organizations of the party.

The fighting strength of the entire party is manifested in and dependent upon the fighting strength of the party's basic organizations. The achievements that are recorded, the potentials that are developed and all experiences and values originate in the efforts of the masses at basic units, the leadership nucleus of whom is the party organization. On the other hand, the weaknesses and negative phenomena of many basic organizations of the party are one of the factors limiting the achievements of the revolution. At present, we are building and implementing the new management mechanism, increasing the autonomy of basic units and turning over much authority to unit heads, as a result of which the role and responsibility of the basic organizations of the party are not decreasing, but increasing. Only by strengthening and building basic organizations that are pure, solid and strong is it possible to implement the new management mechanism well.

The basic organization of the party controls each activity at the basic unit and insures that each activity complies with the lines and policies of the party and state. Within those basic units where the unit chief system is in effect, the organization of the party must properly fulfill its function of inspecting the unit chief. The party committee must periodically carry out an inspection program and must know how to organize inspection forces. The standards, qualities and skills of the secretaries of the party committees at basic units must be the same as those of the chiefs managing these basic units.

The basic organizations of the party must give their attention to performing good agitational work among the masses and must combat bureaucracy and remoteness from the masses beginning at basic units. Every party chapter and party member must firmly adhere to the basic methods employed by the party in its work among the masses, namely, education and persuasion. They must know the living conditions, private thoughts and aspirations of the masses, concern themselves with teaching politics and ideology to the masses and mobilize the masses, by means of exemplary actions by communists, to work hard to complete labor, production, combat and work tasks. They must mobilize and arrange for the masses to participate in party building, criticize the activities of the party chapter, examine the qualifications of party members, expose persons who are not qualified to be party members and introduce outstanding laborers for acceptance into the party.

The basic organizations of the party, most importantly party chapters, must concern themselves much more with educating and training party members, improving the quality of party members and regularly inspecting the work, qualities and style of party members. They must do a good job of developing the party and must expel unqualified members from the party. In the case of weak and deficient basic organizations, the party committee on the upper level must closely guide the work of strengthening their organization, improving party chapter activities, strengthening the contingent of core cadres and educating and managing party members.

5. Improving our work in the fields of ideology and theory.

Ideological and theoretical work plays an extremely important role in all the work of the revolution. At present, however, theoretical work is being performed slowly with regard to many important issues of the socialist revolution. Many concepts, much knowledge and many ways of thinking are outmoded, particularly in the economic field, and have not been revised. This poses a major obstacle to concretizing the general line and the economic line of the party and has slowed the process of establishing the new management mechanism. Besides achievements, there are still numerous shortcomings in our ideological work, such as a lack of activism, initiative and effectiveness. Many organizations of the party are not truly providing ideological leadership and do not know how to provide this leadership. Many party members are still passive and complacent in the face of scurrilous rumors and malicious arguments. They are paralyzed in the face of the enemy's ideological attack.

The main tasks in ideological and theoretical work today are to expand and improve the quality of education concerning theoretical and practical issues of socialist construction in our country; clarify the theoretical and practical bases underlying the resolutions of the party congress; revise our thinking to be consistent with the situation and tasks of the revolution; and promptly review new experiences and issues as they arise. When differences of opinion emerge in the process of implementing the party's line, they must be presented for democratic discussion and clear, definite conclusions must be reached. Our party does not permit anyone to propagandize or spread views that are contrary to its resolutions. The effort to combat enemy propaganda must be fundamentally reorganized. Each cadre and party member must display a high spirit of vigilance, keep abreast of the situation and promptly attack and defeat each counter-propaganda argument and the psychological war of the enemy.

Strengthening the leadership provided by the organizations of the party is the important factor in guaranteeing the effectiveness of ideological work. Every party committee must keep abreast of the thinking of cadres, party members and the people, adopt immediate and long-range plans for ideological work and know how to organize, train and utilize the force of persons engaged in ideological work as an army that possesses high fighting strength.

In view of the present situation, ideological work must be revamped in terms of content and form, organization and methods, personnel and means of propaganda and education. We must improve and increase the quality of the activities of party organizations so that these activities are highly ideological in nature and have the effects of giving everyone a thorough understanding of the views and lines of the party, heightening the sense of responsibility and building ideological consensus.

Regulations must be established which require that party cadres and the cadres in charge of the administrations on the various levels periodically meet with the laboring people, respond to issues raised by the masses, explain policies and survey the opinions of the masses in order to report them to the party committee or the responsible agencies for their response and action. Bureaucracy in ideological work must be eliminated.

The organizations of the party must build and make good use of the corpsof reporters and propagandists, who must possess good qualities and meet political and professional standards. They must restructure and strengthen the newspaper and radio system from the central to the local levels, intensify the training of press cadres, strengthen the material-technical bases of press organizations and improve the quality, the mass nature and the militant nature of the press so that the press and the other mass media meet the rising requirements and standards of the people. They must closely manage publishing activities. They must improve the work of party schools in every respect and improve the training, the knowledge, the practical skills and the workstyle of cadres and party members, beginning with the leadership and management cadres on the various levels.

Taking positive steps to train the corps of cadres who perform ideological work and giving attention to meeting legitimate needs for material-technical bases for ideological work are necessary prerequisites to improving the quality and increasing the effectiveness of ideological work.

6. Building stronger unity and consensus within the party.

Unity and consensus are a very precious tradition of our party. Even at times when the revolution has encountered danger and difficulties, at complex turning points in history, our party has always maintained solid unity and consensus. As a result, it has led and united all the people and continuously advanced the cause of revolution.

Today, under the country's new circumstances, in the face of difficulties with the economy and standard of living and in the face of a number of negative phenomena within our party and society, the enemy, through sabotage and provocation, is attempting to divide the party internally, to divide the party from the people, divide the lower level from the upper level, divide the South from the North. Therefore, now, more than ever before, we must give even greater attention to building and strengthening the unity and consensus within the party, must preserve unity and consensus as though they were the apple of our eye. Building stronger political and ideological consensus on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the lines and views of the party is a matter of survival to the revolution. Concerning ourselves with maintaining unity and consensus within the leadership agencies of the party is the basis for building stronger unity and consensus throughout the party.

To accomplish this, we must firmly maintain the standard of working in precise accordance with the principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership. Important issues must be discussed by the collective, must be decided and acted upon in accordance with the principle of majority rule. Comrades must sincerely love and assist one another and rid themselves of all prejudices.

By performing the above mentioned tasks well, we will surely succeed in gradually improving the leadership ability and increasing the fighting strength of the party, thereby making decisive contributions to overcoming difficulties, stabilizing the situation and advancing our people's glorious cause of revolution to new victories.

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THE WORLD SITUATION AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF OUR PARTY AND STATE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 86 pp 44-51

[Article by Hoang Chi]

[Text] The changes that have occurred in the world situation in recent years and are taking place today prove that the basic assessments of the world situation made by our party at its 4th and 5th Congresses were correct. The tides of revolution in the world continue to surge. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are becoming increasingly strong. At the same time, the struggle to win and strengthen national independence as well as the struggle for the welfare of the people, democracy and peace in the world are steadily developing and are more widespread than ever before. Although in a weak position and fraught with contradictions, imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists, and the international reactionaries have mounted an insane counter-attack.

The combined strength of the tides of revolution and progress is becoming one great current, a current that has directed the thrust of the struggle against imperialism to safeguard peace and achieve national independence, democracy and social progress. In line with the trend of development of history, the class struggle is a sharp and bitter struggle worldwide.

Imperialism and the Other Reactionary Powers Have Launched an Insane Counter-attack but It Is an Attack Being Carried out from a Position of Weakness

In recent years, imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists, and the other reactionary powers have launched the most intense counter-attack ever against the forces of revolution. Through the implementation of "neo-globalism," the highest principle of which is U.S. interests throughout the world, and the United States' resolute support of counter-revolutionary powers against lawful regimes that do not support the United States, the U.S. imperialists have openly declared that they are waging a "crusade" against socialism, against the Soviet Union. They are insanely pursuing the arms race and making every effort to achieve military superiority in a vain attempt to push back communism, crush the world revolutionary movement, stop the national liberation movement, win back positions that have been lost since World War II, particularly since the Vietnam war, and restore U.S. control within the imperialist and capitalist system. Recently, the United States has insanely intensified the nuclear arms race on earth and the militarization of space, thereby causing a serious threat of nuclear war. It has brazenly employed military forces in attacks on sovereign countries and taken a series of provocative actions against the Soviet Union, thereby going completely against the tide of the struggle for peace in the world, placing obstacles in the way of the process of Soviet-U.S. dialogue and creating new tensions in Soviet-U.S. relations and the world.

However, the U.S. imperialists have deployed their "neo-globalism" from a position of weakness and increasingly limited capabilities. The United States has created tensions with the Soviet Union mainly for the purposes of provoking chauvinism within the United States and combating demands by U.S. public opinion for cuts in the military budget and an end to Reagan's arms race in space. The United States has also created tensions with the Soviet Union to draw the countries of Western Europe to the side of the United States and bring pressure to bear upon the Soviet Union in the negotiations on medium-range and strategic weapons. The aggressive actions of the United States are also aimed at serving as a deterrent to the national liberation movement at a time when the United States wants to avoid becoming mired in a second Vietnam war. The intentions of the Reagan administration are to continue the arms race and negotiate with the Soviet Union from a position of strength, to negotiate with the Soviet Union while intensifying its attacks on the world revolution and not allowing its Western European allies and Japan to proceed too quickly in developing their relations with the Soviet Union outside U.S. control.

During the early period of the Reagan administration, the United States, although it increased its economic strength and military power, was unable to change the balance of power in the world to its advantage. Since 1985, the U.S. economy has developed ever more slowly. The budget deficit and the foreign trade deficit of the United States have reached record levels. The economic and financial difficulties of the United States have steadily mounted. The basic contradictions within U.S. society have deepened and the contradictions between the United States and the other imperialists (Western Europe, Japan) have become increasingly sharp. The United States has created tensions between itself and the Soviet Union but must still maintain a dialogue with the Soviet Union. It has intensified its attacks on national liberation movements but must still avoid a second Vietnam. The United States is capable of exerting pressure on its allies but can no longer control them as it did in the 1950's and has been unable to prevent Western Europe and Japan from improving their relations with the Soviet Union. Thus, the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union will continue to be a very sharp struggle waged within the framework of peaceful coexistence. This situation will, generally speaking, affect all international relations.

The realities of the past several years prove that the basic assessments made by our party concerning China are completely correct. Chinese authorities continue to pursue a bitterly hostile policy toward Vietnam. During the first 6 months of 1986 alone, China maintained a force of 20 divisions massed along Vietnam's border, regularly carried out acts of provocation, acts of encroachment and occupation on Vietnamese territory... These acts of armed provocation inflicted considerable losses of life and property on our people.

In its foreign policy, China continues to pursue a course of cooperating in many fields with the United States and the other imperialist countries in order to achieve its insane ambition of quickly becoming a superpower, one strong enough to become the ruler of the world. While closely collaborating with the United States and other imperialist countries, China is pursuing a more flexible policy toward the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and exploiting the contradictions between the two opposing socio-political systems with a view toward satisfying its big country, selfish interests.

With respect to Vietnam and Indochina, China has yet to accept defeat. They continue to pursue their long-range scheme of conquering and annexing the three countries of Indochina and turning Indochina into a springboard for expansion into Southeast Asia. To achieve this objective, China is continuing its attacks and acts of encroachment and occupation along the border and waging a wide-ranging war sabotage by means of increasingly sophisticated and cunning tactics against Vietnam.

The collaborative relations between China and the United States are most evident in the Asia-Pacific region. The Asia-Pacific doctrine of the United States is a large-scale economic, political and military plan, is an insidious scheme of a long-range strategic nature designed to establish a kind of Eastern NATO, the spearhead of which is aimed at the Soviet Union, Vietnam and the other socialist countries, at the peace movement, national independence, democracy and social progress within the region. This doctrine has encouraged the resurgence of reactionary powers within the region, of Japanese militarism and Chinese hegemonism. The Vietnamese cannot take lightly the danger posed by the schemes of the United States and China and the complex nature of the situation they have created within the region. The Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and the U.S. imperialists are coordinating their strategies. They consider Vietnam and all of Indochina to be a key target in their counter-attack against national independence, democracy and social progress. However, the Asia-Pacific doctrine was born amidst the weak and strategically defensive position of the U.S. imperialists, amidst the failure of Maoism, amidst relations between the United States and its allies in the region, between the United States and China that are fraught with contradictions and amidst the trend of development of our times. Therefore, the implementation of this doctrine cannot alter the forward direction of the entire region. The unprecedented growth and strength of socialism, of national independence and social progress and of the forces of peace as well as the coordination of actions among these forces are the decisive factors in the struggle between progress and reaction, between revolution and counter-revolution within the region. The birth and strengthening of the special alliance among the three countries of Indochina as well as their close ties to the Soviet Union and the world socialist community and especially the correct policy of the Soviet Union toward this region are making important contributions to changing the situation in the favor of peace and stability, of national independence and social progress in Asia-Pacific.

The Forces of Peace and Revolution Have Continuously Grown in Strength

Viewed against the background of the serious crises and the increasingly sharp contractions within the imperialist system and the process of the failure of

Maoism, the above mentioned counter-attack by imperialism and the reactionary powers, mainly by the United States, while it has caused certain difficulties to the forces of revolution, amounts to nothing more than defensive blows delivered by the imperialists and international reactionaries from a deteriorating position. Their insane efforts cannot reverse the inevitable trend of history. The strategic offensive position of the three revolutionary tides of our times will continue to develop.

Through the successful implementation of socio-economic programs, through the expansion and strengthening of cooperation among the fraternal countries, the system of socialist countries has brought new development, a new strength and a new spirit not only to each country, but to the entire community as well.

In the land of the Soviets, a new stage is beginning, a stage marked by the 27th Congress of the CPSU, a stage of dynamic development in all fields of social life. Socialism is being perfected in every respect within the Soviet Union and is being successfully built throughout the system.

The victories of the revolutions of the three countries of Indochina under the banners of national independence and socialism and the fact that Poland has overcome its serious political crisis and firmly protected the gains made by socialism prove that no cunning strategem or action of hostile powers can impede the advance of socialism, prove that every sinister attempt to separate one country from another, from the socialist community will surely fail.

Once again, the stability of the world socialist system has been tested. The military-strategic balance that has been established between the Soviet Union and the United States, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO has been confirmed as being a solid and stable balance. The Soviet Union and its allies are determined not to allow the United States to disrupt this balance. This historic achievement is a dependable shield that has been and is effectively thwarting the adventurous war schemes of imperialism.

In the economic field, it is not surprising that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have established long-term economic and technical cooperation and trade programs with the Western countries at a time when the United States has been looking for every way to limit cooperation and put an "embargo" on trade. The development of the economic and technical strength of the socialist community, most importantly of the Soviet Union, has reached a point where the ruling circles of the other Western countries must consider and decide their own attitude toward the Soviet Union instead of acceding to the will of the United States. In the economic field, there are laws and needs that are peculiar to this field and they are having an impact.

The struggle being waged against imperialism by newly liberated nations with the aim of consolidating their independence and achieving social progress is a very important part of the world revolution. With the colonial system of imperialism having been crushed, neo-colonialism in many different forms is being unmasked and is gradually going bankrupt. The newly independent nations are intensifying the struggle to consolidate their political independence and advance to true economic independence. They are gradually even making effective use of economic weapons in the struggle against imperialism.

Dictatorial regimes that are lackeys of the United States are becoming increasingly weak and being toppled one after another. With the revolutionary movement emerging everywhere, the U.S. imperialists cannot be as insolent or obstinate as they once were.

The struggle to establish a new international economic order is developing strongly. This struggle has the active support of the socialist countries and progressive forces of the world, who are against the bitter opposition of the United States and other Western powers and the contemptible silence of China."(1) The non-aligned movement is increasingly taking an anti-imperialist direction. After winning their independence, many countries have chosen the non-capitalist path of development and are moving in the direction of socialism. This is a development of historic importance and once again proves the great truth of our times, namely, that national independence is closely tied to socialism.

The working class has been and is the primary revolutionary class of our times. The international communist movement is the vanguard unit of the worker movement, of all revolutionary forces in the world. In the strongholds of capitalism, the working class and laboring people are waging a bitter struggle every hour of every day against state monopolistic capitalism demanding jobs, demanding better living conditions and demanding that no cuts be made in their welfare benefits--which are gains made through many years of struggle by the laboring masses--and opposing layoffs, unemployment, increases in the military budget and the arms race--all of which are policies that inevitably cause tremendous harm to the interests of the laborer. The frightening increase in the military budgets combined with cuts in the budgets for social welfare programs have spurred the growth of the inherent close association between the struggle for democratic goals and the struggle for peace within the capitalist countries.

In recent years, as a spearhead of the attack on imperialism, the peace movement has developed to a degree unprecedented. This is a salient feature of the situation, is a phenomena of enormous epochal significance, is a development that has attracted the attention and stirred the thinking of all progressive mankind. Facts show that the arms race, in both conventional forces and strategic nuclear forces throughout the world, which was started by imperialism, headed by the United States, has never been as large in scope as it has in recent years. The number of nuclear weapons in the world today has reached the point where all life on earth can be annihilated dozens of times. The threat of a nuclear war launched by the United States has never been as great as it is today. However, it is in this very situation that the ability of mankind to preserve peace is greater than ever before and has become a real capability. This is mainly the result of the establishment by the Soviet Union and the countries within the Warsaw Pact of a military-strategic balance with the United States and NATO and facing the imperialist camp with a choice: to either be annihilated together or coexist. At the same time, and more importantly, the Soviet Union has, on the basis of the balance mentioned above, continuously proposed peace initiatives of a profoundly humanitarian and highly convincing nature, particularly the program for the complete elimination of all types of nuclear weapons before mankind embarks on the third milennium. In particular, for nearly 1 year the Soviet Union has unilaterallyceased the testing of nuclear weapons, which is an exceedingly brave step to take and serves to set an important example. This has also been a factor in the formation of the widespread anti-war movement, which is a new assemblage of forces in the form of an international front of unprecedented scope encompassing forces of peace and progress and even some intellectuals in imperialist circles. The world socialist community, of which the Soviet Union with its powerful economic and national defense potentials is the pillar, is the solid bulwark, is the dependable base of support of all mankind in the struggle to remove the threat of nuclear war and safeguard world peace.

During the remaining 15 years of this century, our country's revolution will continue to develop against the background of an international situation that affords us basic advantages but is also complex in many respects. Our country must continue to be vigilant against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. The worldwide class struggle will remain a very bitter struggle. With its powerful material forces, imperialism will continue to pose a serious threat to all nations and to world peace. The United States and the international reactionaries have not abandoned their imperialist and hegemonist objectives. They continue to insanely pursue the arms race and steadfastly pursue their policy of starting limited wars and conflicts in many regions, thereby constantly poisoning the international atmosphere.

Despite this, the possibility of preserving world peace is very real. Within the context of peaceful coexistence, the forces of revolution and peace in the world enjoy even better conditions for struggling for a just society, for an international order of equality, democracy and progress.

The Foreign Policy of Our Party and State

The strategic tasks of building and defending the fatherland determine the whole of the foreign policy strategy of our party and state. The views of the Communist Party of Vietnam concerning foreign policy are that it stem from genuine patriotism and proletarian internationalism; that it correctly combine staunchly defending the interests of the Vietnamese with respecting and protecting the interests of the people of the world; that it combine, in the best possible manner, the strength of the nation with the strength of our times in order to perform the two strategic tasks while actively contributing to the struggle being waged by the people of the entire world to eliminate the threat of nuclear war, safeguard peace and achieve national independence, democracy and social progress. Our foreign policy strategy must help to create favorable international conditions for building the country, strengthening our economic potential and increasing our national defense capabilities. At the same time, foreign policy activities must become a front that actively and effectively supports the struggle to defeat the border war of encroachment and occupation and the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and each hostile power, defeat their plans to unleash another large-scale war of aggression against the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and maintain peace and stability in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

Our party maintains that the liberation of the proletariat, although it occurs within the scope of each individual nation, is not the separate cause of each nation. This cause is international. This is a factor of utmost importance at a time when the class struggle worldwide is becoming increasingly sharp. Therefore, maintaining close and comprehensive ties with the Soviet Union is the bedrock of the foreign policy strategy of our party and state. Our task is to constantly improve the quality and increase the effectiveness of the cooperation in every field between Vietnam and the Soviet Union. This has always been and will always be our view. It stems from the character of the party and state of the Soviet Union, the brightest symbol of the strength and superiority of socialism, of proletarian internationalism; from the role and position of the Soviet Union as the pillar of the revolution and the bulwark of peace in the world; from the policy of solidarity and cooperation in the fraternal spirit of the party, the state and the people of the Soviet Union toward the party, the state and the people of Vietnam; and from the requirements in the nature of laws that national independence be closely tied to socialism, that independence and autonomy go hand in hand with an alliance and cooperation in every field with the socialist countries, particularly with the countries within the world socialist community. Our party maintains that strengthening our strategic relations and cooperation in every field with the Soviet Union is a firm guarantee of support for the revolution of Vietnam, the revolutions of the three countries of Indochina, is the foremost factor guaranteeing peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the Far East.

Our party fully supports the domestic and foreign policy lines adopted at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, fully supports the revised platform of the CPSU. We consider this platform to be a political and theoretical document of enormous international significance, one that develops and enriches the storehouse of theory of Marxism-Leninism and the experiences of real socialism. One of the highest principles in the foreign policy line of our party is to constantly build and develop the special relations among the three countries of Indochina. The similar historical, geographical, political, cultural and social features, the similar levels of development and similar goals and ideals are the objective factors that create the special nature of the relations among the three countries of Indochina. Our party maintains that the struggle of the proletariat must take place first within the scope of the nation, that "the proletariat of every country must first seize political power, make itself a national class and become the nation."(2) This is what defines the essence of the special relations among the three countries of Indochina, the most important principle of which is that each of the three countries must respect the independence and sovereignty of the other countries and cooperate as a fully equal partner and in every field with the other countries in order to help one another defend and successfully build socialism within its own country. Each country considers these relations to be the factor determining the victory of the revolutions of the three countries, to be the law by which the three nations on the Indochina peninsula survive and develop. These relations are also an essential prerequisite to the three nations joining together to fulfill their historic obligation as the outpost of peace, national independence and socialism in Southeast Asia. We must work in every way possible with the two fraternal countries to constantly strengthen the militant Vietnam-Laos-Cambodia alliance by means of practical and effective measures. The special cooperative relations among the three countries must be developed in depth so that each country and all three become increasingly strong in every respect.

One important task in foreign policy work is to help to stimulate the development of the overseas economy, which is a major strategy of our party and state. First and foremost, our overseas economic policy is to expand our cooperative relations in every field with the Soviet Union and the CEMA member countries, with the two fraternal neighboring countries of Laos and Cambodia. Through self-reliance and in the genuine socialist international spirit, the people of Vietnam are determined to develop the potentials of their country and their own strengths well and meet domestic needs while fulfilling their obligations and commitments for the sake of building and strengthening the socialist community. On the basis of doing a good job in our cooperation in every fields with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, we must, on the basis of specific conditions, seek to expand our economic and scientific-technical relations with Third World countries, the developed industrial countries, international organizations and private foreign parties on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual benefit and with a view toward acquiring each new capability that exists in economic and trade relations in the world today, making inroads against the policy of economic encirclement and embargo of China and the United States against our country and effectively supporting the economic construction and development of our country.

We remain unswerving in our commitment to our stand of thoroughly supporting the national liberation movement and the struggle to consolidate national independence. As a member of the non-aligned movement, we are determined to struggle for the goals of the movement set by the high level conferences of the non-aligned countries. We are encouraged by the new steps that have been taken in the development of friendly and cooperative relations between Vietnam and India. We sincerely desire the continued strengthening and expansion of these traditional relations with the Republic of India, a large non-aligned country that occupies an especially important position in Asia and the world, a country that plays a large role and exerts great influence in international affairs.

We express deep empathy with and wholehearted support for the struggle of the working class and laboring people of the capitalist countries. We sympathize with and support the policies of the communist and worker parties aimed at uniting and rallying each democratic and progressive force within capitalist society in order to victoriously wage an arduous but glorious class struggle within the very strongholds of capitalism and imperialism.

We fully endorse the correct stand of the Soviet Union on combating the threat of nuclear war, safeguarding peace and living in peaceful coexistence. We most emphatically support the peace initiatives advanced by the Soviet Union, initiatives that reflect the aspirations of all mankind. We resolutely denounce the failure of the U.S. side to take practical steps toward reducing tensions through international relations. We are determined to contribute in every way possible to the sacred cause of all mankind--preventing war, saving mankind from nuclear holocaust and maintaining peace and security in the world. Our party considers this to be the historic mission of socialism, of all progressive and peace-loving forces on our planet.

Our policy toward China, a large neighbor to the north, is very clear. It is that we resolutely oppose China's policy of expansion and hegemony and will defend, at all costs, the independence and freedom of our fatherland while steadfastly advocating the normalization of relations with China and permanent peaceful coexistence with China. The government and people of Vietnam cherish, as they always have and always will, the traditional friendship between the peoples of the two countries of Vietnam and China. We have done our best to restore normal relations between the two countries. The responsibility for the worsening relations between Vietnam and China and the continued state of tension along the Vietnam-China border lies completely with the Chinese side. If China truly desires peace and improved relations with its neighbors, let it immediately stop pursuing a hostile policy toward Vietnam and sit down with Vietnam to discuss and settle the issues that exist in the relations between the two sides, beginning with making the border between the two countries safe and secure and creating favorable conditions for the normalization of relations between the two countries.

Southeast Asia is a region of utmost importance in the world. We desire and have been making every effort to achieve an acceptable negotiated solution in order to quickly normalize and develop mutually beneficial and stable cooperative relations with the countries of Southeast Asia. Vietnam will make every effort to normalize and eventually establish good, friendly relations between the countries of Indochina and the countries of ASEAN. In achieving this objective, we welcome the positive role being played by Indonesia and wish to maintain the dialogue between Vietnam and Indonesia, the two countries representing the two different groups of countries. We wish to maintain the dialogue with other countries and will try to establish cooperative relations with the ASEAN countries in the non-aligned movement. We resolutely criticize Thailand's policy of following the lead of the United States and China in opposing Vietnam, opposing the three countries of Indochina. At the same time, we seek the possibility of dialogue with Bangkok.

During the past several decades, under the leadership of the party and following the path charted by President Ho Chi Minh, the foreign policy activities of our party and state have made positive and worthy contributions to the victories won by our people, namely, national liberation and the reunification of the fatherland. Today, the work of building and defending the fatherland is facing us with new tasks and requirements which demand that all the foreign policy activities of our party and state rise to new levels and make the most positive and effective contributions possible to the successful performance of the two strategic tasks of our party and people while making worthy contributions to the cause of revolution and peace throughout the world.

FOOTNOTES

1. China does not support the establishment of a new international economic order. Because, this will not serve China's interests with regard to borrowing capital, importing technology and exporting Chinese goods to markets in the developed capitalist countries. This attitude exposes China's demagogic statements to the Third World.

2. K. Marx-F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume I, p 43.

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TOWARD THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATEGY IN THE INITIAL STAGE IN OUR COUNTRY: CONCERNING OUR COUNTRY'S NATURAL RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 86 pp 52-57

[Article by Nguyen Ngoc Thuy]

[Text] The matter of foremost strategic importance in the development of every nation is to correctly determine the country's natural conditions and natural resources in order to develop a line and policies for making full use of potentials and favorable conditions while limiting adverse conditions.

Now, more than ever before, it is necessary that e have a full and correct understanding of this matter in our country.

Since ancient times, our thinking has been that "our country is rich and beautiful" with its "forests of gold and seas of silver." But is this thinking correct today, is it correct for the future?

Today, following several decades spent conducting investigations and research into our country's natural conditions and natural resources combined with the experiences of the world, we now recognize and have a more comprehensive and deeper understanding of the diversity and complexity of our country's natural conditions, in terms of both positive and favorable factors as well as negative and unfavorable factors.

I. It Is First of All Necessary To Have a Correct and Full Understanding of Our Country's Natural Conditions and Natural Resources

While we must view reality objectively and avoid illusions, we must also avoid making rash assessments because we see ourselves facing enormous difficulties on the path of socialist construction.

Vietnam, which is not large, has a rather high population density and rather special geographical conditions. The country stretches along the 15th degree of longitude, lies within the tropical region of seasonal winds and, with its vast territorial waters and exclusive economic zone, is very significantly influenced by the sea. Vietnam has vast deltas with dense networks of rivers and streams and an important region of mountainous forests where the terrain is very rugged and diverse. It is also influenced by many different systems of air currents from the temperate and the arctic zones, from the sea and mainland, from the equator and the southern hemisphere.

In the world, about a few dozen countries lie in the tropical zone. However, in terms of specifics, these countries differ significantly from the standpoint of favorable and adverse conditions and the special features of their natural conditions also vary rather widely (Vietnam, Thailand, the Philippines, Burma, India, Cuba, Brazil and so forth).

There can no longer be any doubt that our country, with its mountainous forests, rivers, sea and deltas stretching from the equator to the subtropical zone is truly rich and unique and affords scenes of unparalleled beauty comparable to famous places that are rare in the world.

Vietnam, which lies in the tropical zone of seasonal trade winds, is a natural region of the world that ranks among the countries with the conditions that are most favorable for the growth of plant and animal life and is capable of producing an abundance of grain and food products.

One of our country's basic advantages is its abundant solar radiation (1.5-3 times as much as in the temperate zone) and its very rich natural resources (rainfall is roughly 2.5 times greater than the average on the continent of Asia and the volume of water in rivers and streams per square kilometer is nearly three times greater than the average for Asia and approximately five times greater than in the Soviet Union). Another basic advantage is that Vietnam--a peninsular nation--has vast offshore waters.(1)

Yet another basic advantage is that Vietnam has vast and fertile deltas (the Mekong Delta ranks third in size among the more than 30 largest deltas in the world) and its scenic beauty is diverse, ranging from the sea to the deltas and the mountainous forests.

The mineral resources of our country are also very rich (from coal and iron to rare earth metals, placer gold and petroleum-natural gas), the reserves of which, according to discoveries to date, are significant.

In summary, today and over the long-range, we are fully justified in saying that Vietnam is and will continue to be a country that has rich natural resources and many places of scenic beauty.

In the experience of the world, many new, valuable and sometimes very important natural resources can be discovered with the passage of time, even in developed industrial and agricultural countries (for example, the Siberian region of the Soviet Union, the North Sea and so forth) that can bring about a leap forward in economic development.

Vietnam possesses basic natural conditions that are very favorable and permit the development of agriculture, the forest industry and the fishing industry (in broad terms) at a high rate (many crops and seasons) and with a rich variety of products being products. In some areas and during certain periods, these conditions are exceedingly favorable.

Because we recognize the basic and valuable advantages mentioned above, we have been able to record tremendous achievements in replacing 5th month rice with short-term spring rice in the North and introducing a winter season, in increasing the coefficient of cropland use and harvesting a rich variety of products year round in the Mekong Delta and at many other places. We persisted in the exploration for new sources of minerals and finally discovered many important deposits, including deposits of iron, natural gas and petroleum in recent years.

However, in my opinion, two additional important factors must be recognized: the need to understand the concept "rich and beautiful" in a dialectical, dynamic manner and the need to realize all the adverse aspects of Vietnam's natural conditions, even in terms of natural disasters.

To begin with, we should not subscribe to a mistaken and proud concept not based in science concerning the richness of our country's natural conditions. Because, in every stage of history, the concept of the richness of these natural resources must be viewed from the perspective of their relationship to the population, to the ability to develop the natural resources of each country.

In past years, when our country's population was not large, when the methods of developing natural resources were still relatively crude and the economy's needs for raw materials and building materials were small, the richness of Vietnam's natural resources stood out above everything else. However, in the current stage, in which our ability to develop natural resources (which consists of our capital, our level of industrialization, our scientific and technical standards...) is still limited and the population is growing rapidly, we readily see a lack of balance between developed natural resources and needs. Of course, there are some countries in which the domestic availability of natural resources is high compared to the population but they are still wealthy countries whose economies have developed very strongly because of their very high ability to develop natural resources (for example, Japan).

We also need to acquire a more correct and fuller concept of the "beauty" of Vietnam's natural conditions. We cannot be satisfied with the exquisite beauty of natural surroundings in their untouched state but must see the need to invest more than a small amount of human effort and money so that this beauty is increased and ultimately produces major economic returns for the country and becomes a very important and rapid source of foreign currency revenues, a source to which we have yet to give our full attention.

Besides the above mentioned very large advantages afforded by natural conditions in the tropical zone of seasonal winds, there are also unfavorable aspects and natural disasters that have different effects in the different areas of the country and at different points in time.

Abundant solar radiation and rich water sources are very favorable conditions but there are unfavorable aspects to these favorable conditions, particularly when these conditions are in excess. Prolonged high temperatures and heavy rain and high humidity have a very large effect upon the life of equipment, housing projects, roads and bridges and push up design, construction and maintenance costs.

Vietnam is one of the tropical trade wind countries in which natural disasters, although not as severe as they are in some other countries, are of considerable magnitude. Each year, Vietnam is hit by an average of six typhoons and tropical depressions (as many as 10 or 11 typhoons in some years). There is major flooding once every 10 years, moderate flooding once every 3 years and minor flooding once every 5 years. This is not to mention the thunder storms, waterspouts and tornadoes that can inflict major damage on small areas. The climate and weather of Vietnam, particularly in the northern and central regions, change dramatically from one area to the next, from one period of time to the next, causing waterlogging, drought and early or late cold weather. In general, attention must be given to the fact that our country experiences minor natural disasters (such as waterlogging and drought on 100,000 hectares or less) once each year and major natural disasters (typhoons, major flooding and serious drought) once every 3 to 5 years. Natural disasters occur the most in the central and northern regions of the country. Even during years when the weather is considered quite favorable, there can still be minor natural disasters in one or a few localities.

In summary, a correct and full understanding of Vietnam's natural conditions and natural resources is as follows:

Vietnam has rich and diverse natural resources that consist of mineral resources--non renewable resources--in important reserves and resources that are completely or partially renewable (that is, the reserves of which are virtually inexhaustible or very large), such as solar radiation, water, animal life and so forth, which can be developed very quickly and do not require large investments of capital made over a long period of time. Besides this, our country also faces limitations and disadvantages with respect to natural conditions, and the occurrence of minor or major natural disasters is in the nature of a law for the entire country or individual areas of the country.

II. Concerning the Strategy for the Development of Natural Resources To Support Our Country's Economic Development

Once we have acquired correct and full specific knowledge concerning natural conditions and natural resources, it is necessary to establish a wise strategy for the development of our country's natural resources.

1. We must continue to accelerate the development of those mineral resources that are rather rich and diverse and exist in important reserves. Large economic returns are something with which we absolutely must be concerned. However, appropriate attention must be given to carefully considering planning development that demands large capital investments and requires a long time to reclaim capital. Attention must be given to large or very large-scale development and to medium and small-scale development. On the other hand, we must steadfastly continue our explorations on the continental shelf and in a number of other areas in the hope of discovering many valuable natural resources with important reserves, as has been the experience of many countries.

2. Much more importance must be attached to the development of fully or partially renewable resources, such as our country's very rich solar radiation, water resources, wind energy, biological resources and so forth, which we can quickly recreate and which produce large and rapid revenues, including through exportation.

We have long failed to fully concern ourselves with or to develop appropriate, highly efficient technologies to put into use. Because we have discovered short-term varieties of crops, introduced a winter season and selected an appropriate seasonal schedule, we are able to produce a large agricultural output on the same piece of land from 3 to 4 or more crops per year. We also have very large potentials in many other areas: hydroelectric power (large, medium and small scales), wind energy and solar energy as well as biogas energy from discarded materials. The amount of area under the cultivation of aquatic products in our country is still very small and yields are many times lower than advanced world standards. The amount of agricultural land per capita is a difficulty that we are encountering now and will always encounter in the future. Therefore, our basic approach must be to "intensively cultivate natural resources," that is, to take measures to repair, improve and rationalize the use of agricultural land, barren hills, forest land and coastal land. Our economic and scientific-technical policies must yield the return of treating "a bit of soil as a bit of gold," must make intensive use of land and absolutely not allow land to lie fallow, first in the deltas and then in the midlands and other regions.

3. We must make thorough use of the strip of land along the coastline and coastal waters (to a distance of roughly a few dozen kilometers) to carry out integrated economic development, that is, development whichencompasses agriculture (good soil as well as saline soil, sandy soil and swampland), the salt industry, the fishing industry (fishing operations and the cultivation of marine products), the forest industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, industry and communications-transportation. In our country, this is a densely populated zone where labor is readily available, communications and transportation are convenient and many cities and markets are nearby.

Regrettably, in this coastal region, which encompasses about one-half of the provinces and one-half of the population of the entire country and measures more than 3,000 square kilometers, we have yet to do much by way of implementing policies for diverse economic development consistent with an integrated economic model with special features that vary from one locality to the next. Our model remains primarily a narrowly defined agricultural model, remains the traditional crop production and livestock industries of the deltas. The agricultural labor engaged in rice and subsidiary food crop production still accounts for a very large percentage of the work force. Meanwhile, there is dozens of times less labor in the fishing industry, the salt industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, water transport and so forth. What we must do is to learn and organize new sectors and trades, to diversify economic activities within the localities and not concern ourselves exclusively with the cultivation of rice. That is to say, we must develop the mountain economy but also give attention to rice production!

4. The natural potentials of the coastal region are very large. To date, however, our knowledge is limited primarily to marine products and salt. Even in these two fields we have not achieved much development.

The sea fishing industry has made much progress in recent years. But to achieve a larger output, development must be carried out in areas of deep water that lie far from the seacoast. At the same time, we must increase the cultivation of marine products over a larger area and with markedly higher yields than are currently being achieved. This demands much investment capital as well as knowledge of science and technology, economics and new industries.

The salt industry can be developed much more strongly and must reach a higher level of development (salt for industry), particularly in those provinces that have many favorable conditions, such as Nghe Tinh, Nghia Binh, Phu Khanh and Thuan Hai.

Our country's very large potentials for river and sea transport have not been developed much. Meanwhile, river and sea transport play a role of decisive significance in the economic and cultural development (as well as national defense) of a peninsular nation with many rivers and vast offshore waters such as ours. Clearly, this is an important direction to be taken in the development of every province as well as the entire country, one that is capable of absorbing much labor and can have a very strong stimulative effect upon the entire national economy.

The oil and gas development industry along the seacoast and in the offshore waters has truly opened many very large prospects for our country's economic development. At the same time, it has raised many issues that must be resolved, including the issue of protecting the environment.

One of our country's potentials that is very large and can create important sources of revenues is tourism. This can be considered a rather important form of "natural resource," one with which we have yet to fully concern ourselves. It is necessary to make appropriate investments in tourism and "develop" in the most efficient manner possible.

5. Besides the basic and large advantages afforded by natural conditions within the tropical zone of seasonal winds, we must always remember that some of Vietnam's natural conditions are unfavorable, which include natural disasters that are in the nature of laws, such as typhoons, flooding, waterlogging, drought, cold weather or hot, dry weather, high humidity, unusually high tides at times of typhoons or countervailing winds, the irregular intrusion of salt water inland and acidic, sulfate soils over a large area.

The extent of unfavorable conditions or natural disasters differs from one area to another and from one time to another during the year. At present, we do not have official data on the extent of destruction caused by natural disasters in our country. However, according to data of the Philippines, the loss of agricultural output in that country due to typhoons, floods, waterlogging and drought averages about 7 percent of total agricultural output.

In view of our country's current conditions, we cannot successfully combat natural disasters. Rather, we must prepare for them in advance so that we can promptly respond when natural disasters occur and limit the harm caused by them. More correctly stated, we must reduce the losses caused by natural disasters and unfavorable weather and climatic conditions to the lowest level possible. If we skillfully schedule the growing season and take steps to avoid that period of time when the temperature drops below 13 degrees Centigrade during the winter-spring season, agricultural output will be quite high. The output of 10th month would surely be high were we to avoid the period when typhoons and waterlogging frequently occur. Thus, the matter of short-term varieties and the seasonal schedule for each specific locality and measures to guard against natural disasters play a very important role in insuring high and stable outputs.

6. Finally, one other important factor in the strategy for the use and development of our country's natural resources is to take into consideration the possibilities for changing our country's natural conditions and natural resources and the increase in environmental pollution in theprocess of socialist industrialization and the transformation of nature. A host of important questions has arisen as a result of building sea dikes and blocking rivers to provide more land along the seacoast; building dikes to block the intrusion of salt water or combat erosion caused by typhoons; blocking coastal rivers and the unusually high tides caused by typhoons; widening or digging additional irrigation and drainage canals; building dams to make large power projects and create large reservoirs; blocking the flow of mud and sand and regulating the current; building large industrial complexes in the power, cement, paper and petrochemical industries; exploring for and developing oil and gas on the continental shelf, etc.

These jobs will affect natural processes in the deltas and coastal areas of our country and the pollution of the air, river waters and the sea will increase in some cases.

Therefore, beginning immediately and extending over a period of many years, we must perform organizational work, conduct investigations and research and make forecasts with a view toward avoiding negative factors and making full use of the new advantages afforded by our improved natural conditions.

In summary, on the basis of our country's natural conditions and natural resources, our strategy for the use and development of natural resources in support of economic development must be to make integrated and optimum use of Vietnam's natural potentials and reduce the damages caused by natural disasters to the lowest possible level.

We have much experience in this area and a rather large force of qualified cadres.

What we need to do is organize, in a very thorough manner, an effort to bring together the forces and mobilize the potentials of the local and central levels, bring together and mobilize scientific-technical cadres who specialize in investigating and researching natural conditions as well as those who specialize in industry, agriculture and communications-transportation and socio-economic cadres and resolve problems from an overall point of view on a national as well as local scale.

FOOTNOTES

1. The South China Sea is the third largest of the more than 40 seas in the world. The continental shelf and exclusive economic zone of Vietnam are approximately three times larger than the mainland territory of Vietnam. A comparison of length of coastline to square kilometer of territory shows the following: Great Britain: 36 meters; Vietnam: 9 meters; the United States: 6 meters; the Soviet Union: 2 meters; China: 1 meter...

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TOWARD THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATEGY IN THE INITIAL STAGE IN OUR COUNTRY: SOME THOUGHTS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY AND THE BUILDING OF RURAL SOCIETY IN THE CENTRAL HIGHLAND PROVINCES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 86 pp 58-63, 57

[Article by Truong Ngoc]

[Text] I. The Position, Characteristics, Advantages and Difficulties of the Central Highland Provinces

The three Central Highland provinces (Gia Lai-Kontum, Dac Lac and Lam Dong) were a famous revolutionary base area in our nation's long war for national independence. In the new stage of the revolution, the Central Highlands is a region of strategic importance in the cause of our people and of all three countries of Indochina of building and defending the fatherland.

Economically, with nearly 5.6 million hectares of land, the Central Highland provinces possess many natural potentials, particularly the natural resources of their land and forests. The Central Highlands have 1.3 million hectares of red basalt soil, which is very well suited to the development of perennial industrial crops, and nearly 180,000 hectares of alluvial soil and hundreds of thousands of hectares of other types of soil that can be used to raise grain crops, annual industrial crops and livestock feed crops. The majority of the land in the Central Highlands is good land and is relatively flat, which is good for agricultural mechanization. One-third of the forests and nearly one-half of the total timber reserves of the country are concentrated in the Central Highlands. As a result of the diversity and richness of the ecosystem of the tropical forests, the Central Highlands has many precious and rare types of wood, pharmaceuticals and plant and animal life that are of high value from an economic standpoint and from the standpoint of scientific research. With these potentials, the Central Highlands possesses the conditions needed to develop a modern and complete system of agriculture and forestry, one that extends from crop production to livestock production, the forest industry and the processing industry.

In addition to the strengths it possesses with which to develop agriculture and forestry, the Central Highlands also has relatively large sources of underground water and hydropower potentials. The total hydropower potential of the region is estimated to be as high as 1.4 million kw. On the other hand, the Central Highlands also has many other building materials and minerals, especially bauxite. As a result, it can develop a number of industrial sectors.

The communications that link the economic centers in the Central Highlands to other areas are relatively convenient, particularly the links to the seaports of central Vietnam and Ho Chi Minh City, which provide very favorable conditions for circulating goods and marketing products.

Thus, from the standpoint of natural and geographical conditions and compared to the other areas of hills, mountains and highlands, the Central Highlands has many favorable conditions for carrying out comprehensive socio-economic development and is capable of quickly establishing and forming a complete agro-forestry-industrial structure consisting of many areas specializing in the production of agricultural and forest products, particularly export goods of high economic value. Besides these basic advantages, the Central Highlands also faces difficulties: the very distinct differences in weather and climate between the dry season and the rainy season not only have a major effect upon crops and livestock, but also affect the organization of production and labor and the distribution of the system of material-technical bases. The destruction of the forests and the disruption of natural ecological balances that have been occurring in many areas over a period of many years have caused serious consequences. Material-technical bases are still weak. The electric power, mechanical engineering and processing industries have developed slowly. The system of internal communications is still in poor condition and affects the circulation and marketing of products in many areas. The people continue to encounter many difficulties in their daily lives. Customs and habits in ethnic minority areas are still backward. Many problems involving political security and sabotage by FULRO continue to have an impact upon the process of building society in a number of areas...

In recent years, the Central Highland provinces have made efforts to overcome many difficulties and have recorded important achievements in agricultural production and forestry. They have taken a step toward solving the settlement of nomads problem and have received hundreds of thousands of laborers coming from other places. These factors have created many new, favorable conditions for society in the Central Highlands to advance by leaps and bounds and make the Central Highlands an important agricultural and forest product region of the entire country. In particular, initial material-technical bases necessary for the establishment of an agro-forestry-industrial economic structure have been built. Generally speaking, however, agricultural and forest production in the Central Highlands remain decentralized and unstable. Commodity production is still very small in scale. Natural resources are not being protected nor are they being developed in a rational and highly efficient manner.

To build the Central Highlands in a manner befitting its position as a region of strategic importance to the entire country, we must focus our efforts on overcoming immediate difficulties while establishing suitable, long-range guidelines and stages of development with the aim of steadily advancing the Central Highlands to socialism.

II. Concerning the Guidelines for the Development of Agriculture and Forestry and the Building of Rural Society in the Central Highland Provinces

Of importance in building the Central Highlands are the needs to develop upon its favorable conditions, develop its economic, natural and social potentials in a highly efficient manner and create a combined strength with which to advance the ethnic minorities of the Central Highlands directly to socialism.

The basic guidelines for building the Central Highlands are: closely tying economic and social tasks to the protection of the environment; establishing close ties among agricultural, forestry and industrial production; closely tying production to processing and circulation; closely combining the development and good utilization of local sources of labor with receiving large amounts of labor from other places; endeavoring to quickly develop the Central Highlands from a region of raw natural resources, a natural economy, a sparse population and a low level of social development into a region of large-scale, socialist agricultural and forestry production that practices a high level of intensive cultivation and specialized farming and produces a large output of products and goods; distributing the population in a rational manner and rapidly bringing about social changes.

The long-range socio-economic goals of strategic significance of the Central Highland provinces are to uphold the right of collective ownership of the people of the Central Highland ethnic minorities and joining their efforts with those of the rest of the country to achieve a combined strength with which to efficiently develop and utilize existing natural resources, most importantly the forests and arable land, and material-technical bases, simultaneously carry out the three revolutions and promote the development of a diversified agriculture and forestry along lines that combine agriculture and forestry; to develop industry, most importantly the industry, small industry and handicraft trades that process agricultural and forest products; to closely tie agriculture, forestry and industry together in a rational manner within each area and district; to rapidly create an agro-forestry-industrial structure; and to gradually advance the Central Highlands to large-scale, socialist production and make worthy contributions toward the achievement of the primary targets of the national economy set forth in the resolution of the 5th Party Congress. Economic construction must be closely combined with strengthening national defense forces, maintaining political security and performing social tasks.

In keeping with these guidelines, it is possible to meet a number of important targets between now and 1990, such as the following:

+ Virtually completing the settlement of nomads in close coordination with redistributing labor, bringing the people into collective production through many different forms of transition, building and strengthening basic state-operated units in agriculture and forestry, distributing the different segments of the economy in a rational way within each area and establishing good economic ties.

+ Investing in many different aspects of the building of specialized agricultural and forestry areas in order to rapidly increase the output of the primary products whose production has been planned and lay the basis for significantly increasing the output of rubber, coffee and wood in subsequent years; endeavoring to increase the total output of grain in order to meet the requirements of a growing labor force and population and the need to develop livestock production.

+ Increasing the industrial forces of the Central Highlands, particularly machine, repair and electric power forces, rapidly expanding the agricultural and forest product processing industry and rationally distributing industry within the different areas of the Central Highlands.

+ Building new style villages and distributing new population centers, economic-technical centers and towns in a manner consistent with the process of developing production.

+ Strengthening and building the district level so that it is fully capable of managing the economic structure within the district and organizing the material and cultural lives of the people well. Augmenting the force of economic-technical cadres and rapidly training ethnic minority cadres.

With socio-economic guidelines such as the above, we can envision the economic structure emerging within the Central Highland provinces over the long-range as an industrial-agricultural-forestry economy. In the immediate future, each area can, depending upon the specific situation, establish an agro-forestry-industrial or forestry-agro-industrial economic structure.

On the basis of the above mentioned economic structure, the following specific targets can be set for agricultural and forestry production in the Central Highlands:

1. Grain production: although grain is not a product that represents a strength in the Central Highlands, it does occupy a very important position and its production can be developed in a variety of ways. The highest possible efforts must be made to resolve the grain problem with the aim of providing a local supply of grain and building solid momentum for developing the other strengths. The guidelines for the development of grain production in the years ahead are, most importantly, to make full use of all suitable land in order to practice the intensive cultivation and multicropping of rice in areas that have water conservancy projects and continue to build water conservancy projects, particularly small and medium-scale projects, while building a number of large water conservancy projects at places where the necessary conditions exist in order to put more land under the cultivation of wet rice. Subsidiary food crops account for a large portion of the grain raised in the Central Highlands and their production must continue to be strongly developed in terms of the amount of area under cultivation, the practice of intensive cultivation, storage and processing, particularly corn and cassava. The Central Highlands must try to achieve the target of 1 million tons of grain per year by 1990, enough to support a population of roughly 3 million.

2. Forestry production: the forests of the Central Highlands are very important to the entire country, to the economy, society and environment of

the entire region. The development of forestry is a matter of survival, a matter of foremost importance to the ethnic minorities in the Central Highlands. The targets for the development of forestry in the Central Highlands in the years ahead are: taking every possible step to maintain the existing 2.5 million hectares of forests and taking measures to promote the growth of forests in order to constantly increase reserves and output; adopting plans for organizing the forests and rationally harvesting the roughly 1 million hectares of rich and average forests; gradually increasing the output of wood, forest products and forest specialty products with a view toward meeting the need to carry out capital formation in order to build the forests and the need to supply forest products in increasingly large quantities to the Central Highlands themselves and the entire country; promoting the movement to plant trees and start forests on fallow land and barren hills; assigning land and forests to households to set up orchards; planning the maintenance of the forests and the planting of shelter belt forests for various types of agricultural land; expanding the wood and forest product processing industry and increasing wood processing capacity in the Central Highlands to insure that the majority of timber harvested is milled.

3. Livestock production: livestock production, especially the raising of the species of large livestock, is one of the strengths of the Central Highlands. We must try to shift livestock production from a natural state to a progressive mode of livestock production, beginning by solving the breed problem and planning the protection of natural grasslands and the processing of livestock feed. It is necessary to focus efforts on rapidly increasing the size of buffalo and cattle herds and adopt appropriate policies to create the conditions for importing additional buffalo and cattle from provinces outside the Central Highlands and strongly encourage the raising of buffalo and cattle breeding stock. As regards hog production, full use must be made of the region's existing strengths in subsidiary food crops and legumes to promote hog production in all three sectors, the state-operated sector, the collective sector and the household sector, particularly the household sector. Ties must be established with coastal provinces in order to obtain additional fish meal and other feed supplements. The cultivation of fish in rice paddies and the cultivation of fish in ponds and lakes must be strongly developed. Areas must be zoned for protection, hunting in the forests must be properly managed, etc.

4. Industrial crops, vegetables and fruit: among the industrial crops raised in the Central Highlands, exported perennial industrial crops are of special importance. Therefore, investments must focus on strongly developing the production of such leading export crops as rubber, coffee, tea and mulberries. Depending upon the conditions within each area and province, specialized farming areas suited to each crop must be established. However, full importance must be attached to intensive cultivation to insure high yields and high quality products. In the immediate future, the production of annual industrial crops must be vigorously developed in order to rapidly increase the output of goods, particularly export goods, and make it possible to carry out capital formation in the initial stage. Among the crops grown in the Central Highlands, special attention must be given to promoting the production of vegetables and fruit to meet the needs of the people, provide products to trade with provinces outside the region, particularly Ho Chi Minh City and support tourism and export activities.

III. Concerning a Number of Major Positions, Policies and Measures

1. Establishing the new production relations: in view of the special fact that the Central Highlands is advancing to socialism from a low level of socio-economic development, the production relations revolution has a major impact here in opening the way for the development of production forces and the other processes of the revolution. As regards the people of the ethnic minorities, suitable forms of organization must be selected depending upon the specific conditions at each place, such as assigning land and forests to each household, helping them to build fields and orchards and creating the conditions for gradually arranging for them to live in separate households while still eating together within the long houses; organizing various forms of earning a living collectively, from work exchange teams to production solidarity teams, production collectives, cooperatives... At those places where the necessary conditions exist, state-operated agricultural-forestry enterprises must be organized to employ persons as workers while developing many forms of joint businesses and economic ties among state-operated enterprises, collectives and families to lay the groundwork for bringing about the settlement of nomads and advancing agricultural and forestry production in the direction of large-scale, socialist production. The state farms and forestry sites in the Central Highlands must be strongly developed to build upon their key role in the process of absorbing labor, organizing production, reorganizing the population and establishing the new production relations within ethnic minority areas. Importance must be attached to immediately bringing the persons in new economic zones into cooperatives and production collectives or employing some of them at state-operated enterprises with a view toward implementing the production planning that has been established for each area and creating the conditions for stabilizing their living conditions.

2. Applying technical advances and building material-technical bases.

In the process of accelerating the technological revolution in the Central Highlands, communications, water conservancy, electric power, mechanical engineering, the revolution in biology...are areas in which appropriate investments must be made.

Communications and transportation must be developed ahead of everything else. The requirements of many sectors and economic units and the requirements of the central and local levels must be combined in order to plan and put in place a rational communications network and schedule the opening of roads in new agro-forestry areas. We must attach importance to and urgently open main roads linking new forestry-agricultural areas to national and provincial highways. Inter-village communications must be developed, particularly in border villages and villages that produce many forest products and special products. The economy must be closely combined with national defense in planning the development of communications and transportation, especially the development of communications in border areas.

Water conservancy in the Central Highlands is not only the measure of foremost importance in agriculture, but must also be closely tied to the protection of the forests and water sources. Water conservancy projects are needed not only for rice, but also for industrial crops, particularly tea and coffee. At many places, these projects are needed to supply water for everyday needs during the dry season. A division of labor and coordination must be established among the agricultural, forestry and water conservancy sectors in order to plan and organize the construction of each type project. Importance must be attached to quickly developing small reservoirs and dams that combine water conservancy and hydroelectric power, combine the use of water in production and the use of water in households. Plans must be adopted for investing in the construction of the large water conservancy projects that have been investigated and designed. Importance must be attached to farming practices and shelter belts in order to protect water sources and conserve water.

As regards electricity, the main approach that must be taken to provide adequate electricity for agricultural production, forestry and the processing industry is to develop small, medium and large-scale hydroelectric power projects. In the immediate future, sufficient electricity produced by diesel generators must be supplied to the important economic-technical centers. The needs of many sectors within a number of different areas must be combined in order to build a unified and rational network of power stations.

In view of the fact that there is still a shortage of much labor, it is necessary to rapidly introduce tools and machines in important aspects of agricultural and forestry production, particularly in the preparation of the soil, irrigation, processing and transportation, in order to quickly raise labor productivity and product output. It is also necessary to re-examine the machine forces and the technical service systems of the different sectors within the area in order to adopt guidelines for restructuring them, establishing a rational division of labor and insuring their efficient and effective utilization.

We must intensify economic and technical research in the fields of agriculture and forestry within the Central Highlands, biological research and research in agricultural and forestry techniques and the forest business in order to develop existing potentials in a rational and efficient manner. Stations and farms producing agricultural seed, forest tree seed and weanling livestock must be quickly built. Many centers providing technical guidance must be established in the different subareas of the Central Highlands to create the conditions for researching and reaching conclusions concerning practical problems and rapidly introducing technical advances in agriculture and forestry.

Along with the process of building material-technical bases in the Central Highlands, it is necessary to organize and utilize the existing pool of local labor of the Central Highlands well, most importantly the labor of the ethnic minorities, which must be done in a manner closely tied to the settlement of nomads, and the labor of fellow countrymen coming from the lowland provinces to build new economic zones. The sending of labor to the Central Highlands must be closely linked to agricultural-forestry planning. Each locality and production unit that has a need for labor must properly prepare the objects of labor, work tools, housing, the supply of grain and the organization of production. Importance must be attached to sending technically skilled labor to the Central Highlands and making good use of this corps. Special attention must be given to the political quality of the labor forces sent to areas that are important from the standpoint of security, national defense and politics. The forces of the army that perform economic work must be utilized well in clearing land, building water conservancy projects, building the infrastructure and carrying out capital construction for agriculture and forestry. Good conditions must be established for providing jobs to youths who have fulfilled their military obligation at state farms, forestry sites and industrial enterprises. We must reorganize mountain villages and industrial, agricultural and forestry population centers and build the new countryside and new society in the Central Highlands.

3. Revamping the organizational and management mechanism.

In the process of building the Central Highlands, we must also expand the activities of many sectors and production and business units; open many new economic zones; develop agriculture, forestry, industry, production, processing and circulation in a well coordinated manner; simultaneously resolve economic and social problems and closely tie the economy and society to national defense. Therefore, organization and management pose complex problems which demand thorough planning and the good coordination of the forces of many sectors.

Most importantly, it is necessary to conduct good sector planning and area planning and coordinate the forces of the various sectors and localities in order to establish the structure of the economy and set up a well-coordinated system of production, business, technical service and public service units. Here, a division of labor and responsibilities must be established with a view toward expanding the building of the infrastructure and organizing efforts to resolve social problems well. The establishment of joint businesses and economic ties must be accelerated to develop the full potentials of each segment of the economy, expand the trade sector, create additional capital and equip with technology. The use of product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers must be expanded within the various production sectors. It is necessary to properly implement and to amend and concretize the policies of the party and state in all areas, such as the nationalities policy, the policy on the circulation and procurement of products, the policy on attracting labor and cadres, the capital and investment policies, the policies that encourage the development of the local economy, the policies on protecting natural resources and the environment, etc.

The conditions must be created for state-operated agricultural and forestry enterprises to make an effective impact upon the different aspects of social life and make worthy contributions toward intensifying the three revolutions in the Central Highlands. The state-operated economy must play the key and decisive role within the socialist economy. In particular, the central state-operated economy must occupy a worthy position, especially in building and expanding leading economic sectors that require large investments, combine the central state-operated economy with the local state-operated economy well and combine the different segments of the economy as a whole well. In the immediate future, in keeping with the spirit of the resolution (draft) of the Political Bureau on guaranteeing the production and business autonomy of basic economic units, it is necessary to assign to state farms and forestry sites a certain amount of land and forests for use in production and business or to be managed and protected by them in ways that closely combine agriculture and forestry, that establish economic ties and close cooperation among the state-operated economy, the collective economy and the household economy within each specific area and locale. On the basis of being autonomous from the standpoint of production and business, state farms and forestry sites can expand their "sources of self-acquired capital" through revenue sources that lie in the many potentials of the forests and land. At the same time, they can participate in resolving socio-economic, security and national defense problems.

Building the socio-economic system in the Central Highlands, a strategically important region that has a population of roughly 300,000 ethnic minority members and advancing the Central Highlands directly to socialism is a difficult and complex task. Therefore, in addition to the efforts made by the Central Highland provinces themselves in the spirit of self-reliance, the assistance of the state and the cooperation of all localities, sectors and levels nationwide are very important. The guidelines for socio-economic development in the Central Highland provinces must soon be formalized by the state in the form of specific economic positions and policies with the aim of mobilizing the combined strength of the entire country to build the Central Highlands.

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IMPROVING PRACTICAL ORGANIZATIONAL SKILLS

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[Article by Dinh Nghiem and Huu Xanh]

[Text] The basic, decisive issue of foremost importance to a party leading a revolution is to adopt the correct line. This is the "living soul" of, is the "star lighting the way" for the revolutionary cause of the broad masses. But this is not enough. The leadership provided by the party also includes directly organizing the masses in implementing this line in practice to achieve the goals set forth in the line. Formulating the line and organizing its implementation comprise an entity in the leadership of the party. Saying "cadres determine everything" indicates the importance of the practical organizational skills employed by cadres to implement this line.

It is only through practice, in general, and practical organizational work that we gradually gain a full and deep appreciation of the revolutionary and scientific nature of the line, that we can concretize the line in a correct and creative manner. Only through practical organizational work can we discover and confirm new forms and methods that are well suited to new circumstances and conditions as we perform the new tasks of the revolution. Only through practical organizational work can we determine the accuracy of the line, revise this line where it is incorrect, supplement it where it is inadequate so that it is constantly improved and has an effect in life. We know that the line of the party, regardless of how correct it might be, can only reflect the broad character, the most general and common aspects of social life. Practical organizational work, on the other hand, demands that we correctly organize every aspect of the activities of society and take into consideration the individual laborer, each collective of laborers, each sector, each locality and the entire nation. Consequently, it is only through practical organizational work that we can gain a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the country's socio-economic situation, gradually summarize general experiences in the form of theories, perfect the line and promptly make optimum decisions. Le Duan said: we have frequently stressed that once a line has been adopted, management and practical organizational work play an exceedingly important role and determine the fate of the line."(1) Practical organizational work is a process that consists of establishing ties among and coordinating objective and subjective factors (for example, the virtues and style of the leader), material and spiritual factors, traditional and modern factors, man, society and nature, labor, the instruments of labor and domestic and international circumstances and conditions within a system, an entity that functions smoothly, is balanced and efficient and is aimed at achieving established goals.

In the revolution, practical organizational work entails turning the line into reality and developing living reality in all its different aspects and scopes in accordance with the line of the party. This is the common task of the entire party, a task performed through each leadership cadre on all levels and in all sectors, through the specialists in charge of each aspect of the work of state agencies. It is a process that extends from adopting a position, establishing a plan for implementing this position, preparing the necessary conditions, especially building the apparatus and selecting management cadres, establishing the mechanism within which activities will be conducted and establishing work methods to inspecting final results. It entails attracting the masses to processes of activity and creating the conditions for them to participate in these processes in a conscientious, correct and effective manner. It is not simply the organizing of a separate economic or political process, but is a system of processes designed not just to meet one goal in a specific field, but a system of goals, such as building the new system, building the new economy, establishing the new culture and molding the new, socialist man. It involves combining management science and the art of management; combining the science and art of utilizing personnel; combining the science and art of building upon existing factors with building and developing potentials; and combining stages and jobs with creating the objective conditions for each stage and job. Salient among these factors are such matters as combining interests and objectives; combining centralism and democracy; combining collective leadership and individual responsibility; combining principles and creativity, etc.

Improving the ability to perform practical organizational work essentially involves improving the ability to lead and organize the introduction and implementation of the revolutionary line of the party among the masses and mobilizing, guiding and organizing the masses in practical actions aimed at implementing this line in the most precise and efficient manner possible.

To insure the correctness, strength and effectiveness of practical organizational work, it is first of all necessary to have a thorough understanding of the line, guidelines and tasks of the revolution and know how to concretize them within the context of specific historical conditions and circumstances on a nationwide scale as well as within each locality and basic unit depending upon the scope of responsibility of the leader. This is the political outlook, the "political thinking" that is necessary in practical organizational work. Many shortcomings and weaknesses in practical organizational work stem from the failure to understand and comprehend the views and line of the party. Our country's economy currently encompasses many different segments, many different levels of technological development, many different scales of operation, many different forms of production and business and many different types of overseas economic relations. In addition, we must deal with the border war of encroachment and occupation and the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with international imperialism and other reactionary forces and must also fulfill our socialist international obligation. As a result, in the present stage in our country, many different types of laws intertwine: the laws of economic construction and the laws of a war to defend the fatherland; the economic laws and political laws of the class struggle and the struggle between the two paths; the separate economic laws of socialism and economic laws that are not laws of socialism, etc. And, these laws manifest themselves in very diverse and different ways. Moreover, practical organizational work is one of the various conscious activities that are conducted on a society-wide scale. In this work, the party leads and the state unifies management by means of legally binding plans and through inspections. Planning is the strongest lever in the system of economic levers because it is not only legally binding, but also truly provides a large amount of incentive and motivation to basic production units, localities, sectors and each individual laborer. Our country's current socio-economic situation urgently demands that we profoundly reform the planning and management system, revamp the entire structure of the economy and the management mechanism and increase the effectiveness of the factors of centralism in the planning and management system. At the same time, it demands that we broaden and encourage the display of autonomy and responsibility on the part of localities and basic units and make use of the various forms and methods of economic accounting and socialist business practices, the relationship between money and goods and economic incentives. Therefore, in their practical organizational work, leaders must be able to develop and utilize flexible and diverse forms of organization of a transitional nature that are compatible with the current stage for each type economy and each aspect of the process of social production and reproduction. We have been taking a specific direction concerning these issues for many years and have experimented with different approaches to determine which are best. However, the truth of the matter is that we have made very little progress. As emphasized in Resolution 31 of the Political Bureau (19 February 1986), the primary obstacles preventing our activities from being vigorously and resolutely revamped are "subjective, impetuous, simplistic and impractical thinking" and "the failure to fully recognize" that the socio-economic situation is still difficult and complex. Despite this, we have not "engaged in thorough research and debate," "have not held thorough discussions in order to provide unified guidance, have not implemented decisions and policies concerning work, have not strictly upheld the discipline of the party and laws of the state." Besides this, some key cadres still have the attitude of seeking perfection, are afraid of making the mistakes of being bureaucratic and conservative... Consequently, to increase the effectiveness of practical organizational work, planning must be carefully prepared, must be realistic in nature, that is, must be closely tied to life, to the specific socio-economic situation. And, once a decision has been made, it is necessary to "provide concerted, clear leadership, provide detailed guidance, provide supervision and conduct inspections in accordance with industrial standards and not leave work unfinished, consider the end of a meeting to mean the work being discussed is finished, not consider the issuance of a decision to mean that one has fulfilled his responsibility."(2)

Another important matter in practical organizational work is the need to achieve a combined strength and thoroughly understand the coordinated, systems approach, because, it permits us to focus our potentials on effectively meeting crucial targets while creating the prerequisites and conditions for the comprehensive development of the socio-economic system, in general. This is a major lesson and experience of our country's revolution.

Achieving a combined strength and taking a coordinated, systems approach demand that we determine what the most important links, the most basic objectives and the most pressing tasks are in each stage and with each step that we take so that forces are deployed in a manner that corresponds to the different aspects of the socio-economic situation and we can predict the consequences that will occur in these different areas. The resolution of the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee confirmed that prices, wages and money are the area in which the decisive breakthrough must be made to revamp the entire management mechanism within our country in the current stage, dismantle bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and usher in a new period of socio-economic development. At the same time, the resolution also pointed out that this will entail an arduous, complex and bitter struggle in all fields of the economy, ideology and organization. This task must be carried out in an urgent and determined manner. However, plans and the steps to be taken must be carefully worked out and we must predict what the positive effects will be while anticipating the temporary unfavorable consequences that might occur so that positive measures can be taken to guard against and overcome them. In the entire process as well as in each step that is taken, we must maintain coordination and balance in all areas, such as coordination and balance among prices, wages and money and coordination and balance between the supply of goods and the money supply. Adjustments to prices, wages and monetary policy must be made in conjunction with revamping the entire management mechanism, with reorganizing and restructuring production, transportation and circulation-distribution. The revamping of the management mechanism must be closely linked to the transformation of the non-socialist segments of the economy and the transformation and management of the market. Economic, educational and administrative measures must be closely coordinated. The revamping of economic policy must be closely tied to revamping the organizational and cadre apparata and eliminating, in a prudent but determined manner, all unnecessary intermediary organizations while restructuring the organization and making changes to the operations of the planning, supply, home trade, foreign trade, finance-banking, pricing, labor and wage and other sectors with the aim of effectively supporting the production and business of basic units. However, in our recent practical organizational work, because we have failed to gain a full and correct understanding of these requirements, we have not controlled the market and prices nor have we stabilized the financial situation, the monetary situation or the standard of living. Instead, we have made the socio-economic situation more complex, in some cases very serious, and the state has suffered major losses.

Practical organizational work demands that we establish the correct relationship between interests and objectives. Objectives set the direction for practical actions. Clearly defined, precise objectives that correctly reflect the requirements of the revolution and the interests of the masses generate spirited and continuous revolutionary movements. Interests are what move people to achieve objectives. The masses participate in practical activities largely for the sake of their own vital interests. Objectives that combine the various interests in a way that is well balanced and insure a unity of interests are a basic, powerful force motivating workers, collectives and socio-economic organizations to conduct vigorous, coordinated activities based on established guidelines and objectives, thereby creating an enormous strength with which to bring about changes in the current situation. Engels pointed out: "Wherever common interests do not lie, there can be no common objective nor can there be unity of action."(3) Therefore, to increase the effectiveness of practical organizational work, we must plan rational steps to take with rational objectives that correctly reflect the relationship among the different interests: the interests of society, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual. We must establish an order in which jobs are to be performed and an order of priority in which objectives must be met. Combining objectives and interests in a dialectical way will heighten the spirit of responsibility and the concern of the laborer for the final results of work. This has been made clearly evident to us in the process of implementing Secretariat Directive 100, Council of Ministers' Resolution 25/CP and the resolution of the 8th Party Plenum.

At present, improving the ability to perform practical organizational work demands that we correctly combine centralism and democracy, collective leadership and individual responsibility. This will permit us to achieve the full, united strength of the entire country with a view toward meeting major targets and establishing important balances on a society-wide scale. It will also create the conditions for all levels, sectors, localities and basic units to display initiative and creativity in production and business, in organizing social life. Correctly combining centralism and democracy also makes it possible to build a unified and disciplined operational apparatus and expresses the will and creativity of the masses. It builds the role and spirit of responsibility of the individual while tapping the intelligence of the collective.

The thorough implementation of the principle of democratic centralism in the process of practical organizational work is seen when the leader, the manager or the key cadre listens to the opinions of the lower level and the opinions of the masses and arranges for the lower level and the masses to participate in discussing the plan, to criticize and offer their opinions concerning the contents of decisions as well as the plan and organizational measures and to participate in inspecting the implementation of these decisions. President Ho said: "Democracy, initiative and enthusiasm, these three factors are very closely related to one another. Only by practicing democracy can cadres and the masses propose initiatives. When these initiatives are praised, the persons who made them are even more enthusiastic and other persons study and follow their example. And, when initiative and enthusiasm for work increase, many minor shortcomings rectify themselves."(4)

However, democracy must be closely linked to centralism and strict discipline and all laxity in compliance with the decisions, positions and policies of the party and state must be eliminated. In summary, we must follow Lenin's teaching: "Combine the intense spirit of democracy displayed by the laboring masses at meetings, a spirit that overflows like the floodwaters of spring, with an iron discipline in labor...with the will of a single person, of the soviet leader."(5)

Organizing practical activities demands collective leadership and personal responsibility. On every job performed through common effort, the responsibility of the individual must be defined in detail as must the requirements which each individual must meet in order to fulfill this responsibility. A common task cannot be performed without defining the responsibility of the individual. A person who has responsibility also has authority, authority commensurate with his responsibility. The failure to define the responsibility of the individual in a clear and detailed manner easily gives rise to a method of working that is passive, that entails relying upon and waiting for others to act and leads to an apparatus that is cumbersome, bureaucratic and inefficient. When work goes smoothly, everyone records an achievement. When it does not, no one admits to a shortcoming, that is, no one bears any responsibility at all. While emphasizing personal responsibility, we must also attach importance to collective leadership. Not having a specific understanding of the country's socio-economic situation in the face of the complex changes that are taking place today, not wanting to take or being determined to take practical and effective steps to stabilize this situation, displaying localism and departmentalism and not giving attention to the interests of all society...are totally alien to the principles of democratic centralism, collective leadership and personal responsibility.

To implement these principles in practical organizational work, the leader must put before the collective for its discussion and decision those issues that are of major importance, are in the nature of principles and are the most important. On the other hand, he must know how to tap the dynamism of the apparatus, of cadres on the lower levels and establish a work atmosphere of unity, confidence and mutual respect. He must be determined to work in accordance with regulations and must combat the practice of doing as one sees fit, combat liberalism.

Organizing practical activities is large-scale, complex and wide-ranging work. It demands that the cadre in charge know that "measures are 10 times more important and determination 20 times more important than policy." It is ideological leadership to some extent. It is practical actions, is detailed management and coordination. It is command work. It is gaining everyone's participation. It demands knowledge of the science of organization but cannot be conducted without revolutionary zeal, without revolutionary will to struggle. It also demands that the leader's style be one of thinking, speaking and acting. His words and actions must go hand in hand. These are the subjective factors of the leader. Organizing practical activities demands the elimination of styles marked by bureaucracy and leadership purely by fiat or paternalism and arbitrariness. The tasks of the revolution and the demands of life are always urgent and acute. Delays, conservatism and bureaucracy cannot be tolerated. To the contrary, only by displaying activism, initiative, creativity and determination can the leader, can the person who performs practical organizational work motivate the apparatus on the lower level and the masses to involve themselves in the performance of established tasks.

Organizing practical activities demands that we not be conservative or slow to act. However, we must also not be reckless or blind, not be careless or sloppy, not fail to calculate efficiency or to prepare the conditions needed to perform each job. It demands dynamism and creativity as well as strict adherence to principles and an appropriate degree of caution. Being quick to discover that which is new, conducting pilot projects and summarizing and drawing experience and then disseminating it on a widespread basis with attention to the specific characteristics of each area and locality are the correct path to follow in practical organizational work.

Organizing practical activities demands thoroughness, demands regular supervision and inspection and demands that activities be strictly maintained until each established task is completed. No job or task can ever be thoroughly completed by "leaving things unfinished" or "doing things half-way." Only by regularly conducting inspections and giving attention to information from various sources and the events taking place is it possible to engage in analysis and promptly provide guidance by means of correct decisions.

The effectiveness of practical organizational work is closely tied to mass movements. However, instead of only looking at the spirit displayed by the movement on its surface, we must examine the substance of the work being performed. High productivity and efficiency, good quality and thorough and full concern for the living conditions of the laborer, these are the most accurate standards for evaluating practical work and the ability of the leader to perform practical organizational work. When this ability is improved, the leader will be like a decisive, exact and all-embracing conductor who creates the harmony and rhythm of the entire orchestra, from which will emanate the beautiful melody of the music of life.

FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Cach mang xa hoi chu nghia o Viet nam,"[The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1984, Volume IV, p 480.

2. Le Duc Tho: "Nhung nhiem vu cap bach cua cong tac xay dung Dang," [The Urgent Tasks in the Building of the Party], TAP CHI CONG SAN, May-1986, p 20.

3. Marx-Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, Volume II, p 250.

4. "X.Y.Z.: Sua doi le loi lam viec,"[X.Y.Z.: Changing Work Methods], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1955, p 19.

5. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 249.

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CONCERNING SOCIALIST SPORTS ETHICS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 86 pp 70-73, 89

[Article by Tran Nguyen]

[Text] The activities conducted on the highest levels of sports are followed by hundreds of millions of persons. It can be said that no other activities in cultural and spiritual life touch the life of society so extensively. The Olympic Games, world cup soccer matches and so forth are eloquent proof of this remarkable attraction.

But sports only generate enthusiasm when they are performed on a high level of art and in the genuine spirit of sports. Sports are not beautiful if they are played for pragmatic purposes, played only with a passion for winning, regardless of how great the talent displayed might be. Moreover, sports then leave the spectator with an unpleasant feeling. A typical example of this was the soccer team of the Federal Republic of Germany, which was a talented team but played in a lackluster manner against the Austrian team in order to knock the Algerian team out of the Espana 82 world cup soccer competition.

The central characters in sports are the athletes. The more outstanding the talents and ethics of athletes are, the more they inspire and teach others, the more they spread their beauty. Their names live on with time. The sports world has athletes whose talent and pure ethics are truly deserving of praise. Stevenson, a Cuban athlete and the winner of many olympic gold medals, is one such person. The U.S. imperialists, long accustomed to buying and selling athletes, in a scheme to lure him into betraying his motherland, made an offer to buy him for tens of millions of dollars. But Stevenson told U.S. sports managers to their faces: my worth, my life is competing for the Cuban motherland!

In our country, sports events have been an attraction for many years and have sparked much interest. Spectators leave athletic fields completely satisfied because they have witnessed spirited, hard-fought competition among athletes.

Many men and women athletes, although the country's circumstances have made their lives very difficult and hard, have still maintained their wholesome way of life, their pure qualities and virtues in steadfast efforts to train and cultivate their skills as well as in competitions at home and abroad. Many persons have recorded good results and their achievements are no less than those of the outstanding athletes of some other countries. Besides sports medals, they have been awarded labor medals by the state. Many of these athletes have become core cadres, become leaders of the physical cultural and sports sector. In different job positions, they are playing an effective role and making effective contributions to the country's physical culture and sports and have helped to train a corps of athletes and successor cadres whose abilities and achievements exceed their own.

However, in recent years, some negative phenomena have emerged in sports, the serious nature of which is, in some respects, deserving of concern. The many perplexing things that occurred during last year's class A1 soccer competition are an example.

The majority of the soccer teams that participated in the matches violated socialist sports ethics to one degree or another. Feigned competition was a rather widespread phenomenon. A real match for a national championship turned out to be uninteresting, far worse than an ordinary practice session. One team that had once won the championship lost to a weak team by a shocking margin! Some teams played very roughly, even committing acts of violence against referees, or openly played to lose. They employed every tactic and trick they could despite the displeasure and disapproval expressed by the public. On the sidelines and along the road leading to the field, persons huddled in groups and went back and forth conspiring, fixing matches and handing out gifts and presents. Many persons in different positions of responsibility and jobs engaged in this negative behavior: athletes, coaches, trainers, cadres in charge of physical culture-sports in some localities and sectors and so forth.

Why do such negative phenomena occur? Where do the direct and underlying causes of these phenomena lie?

Behind every action is a motive. Strong soccer teams want to finish in 1st place in competitions. Weak teams want to avoid falling into last place. And, at stake with regard to the place in which a soccer team finishes is an achievement, the reputation of the locality, awards, banquets and so forth. Some persons justify their wrongdoing as "clever tactics." Others defend what they do by saying: "Everyone conspires. It would be stupid for me not to do it, too. I would only be hurting myself." In the face of public criticism, some persons admit that their actions are "unethical but legal, because the referees certify the results, the score," etc. Never has there been such a confusion of right and wrong!

Sports activities must be aimed at achieving the full and balanced development of physical fitness and athletic skills, of the style and ethics of the new man. At the same time, they must bring to the life of society a cultural and spiritual value. A sports achievement or record is only recognized when it is recorded through the real strength of a team or individual athlete in the spirit of competing to the very best of their ability. The place in which a team or individual finishes in sports is only of value when it reflects the real talent and skill of each team or athlete. Chasing after achievements and ranking by resorting to every conceivable tactic and being spurred by the unwholesome motives of pragmatism, which is alien to the noble goals of physical culture and sports, of sports competition, is the cause of the emergence and development of negative phenomena not only in soccer, but in a number of other sports as well.

This situation points out the shortcomings in the management and the political, ideological and ethical education of athletes and trainers on the part of the physical culture-sports management organizations of the various levels and sectors and the basic units that have soccer teams. In athlete training plans, little importance is being attached to the requirement of training athletes in politics, ideology and ethics. In coaching and the management of sports activities, timely steps have not been taken to address this problem and the actions taken to deal with negative phenomena have been neither determined nor earnest. Even more serious is the fact that some cadres in charge of physical culture and sports in some localities and units, because their thinking leans very heavily toward achievements and standing, have played an active role in causing these negative phenomena.

Not allowing the negative phenomena in social life to infiltrate sports and, at the same time, not allowing the negative things in sports to have an adverse impact upon the cultural and spiritual life of society, this is an important task of the responsible organizations, most importantly the agencies in charge of physical culture and sports. In keeping with this spirit, we support the notice issued by the Standing Committee of the 1986 National Class A1 Soccer Competition approving the conclusion reached and the disciplinary action taken by the Class C Organizing Committee in the case of the persons who prevented the match between the Saigon port team and the Hanoi public security team at the Long An Field on 27 April 1986 from being completed.

The Vietnamese athlete is a model of the new, socialist man. The qualities and ethics of the athlete are basically the qualities and ethics of the new man. They are: loyalty to the fatherland, to socialism; the spirit and attitude of working to build socialism and defend the fatherland; academic knowledge; the beautiful thinking and feelings of the new man; and the ethics and style of the new man in the field of physical culture-sports and in one's personal life.

Through these basic qualities, the ethics of athletes assume distinctive characteristics that stem from the nature of athletic activities. The life of man is long. However, the competitive life of an athlete, generally speaking, lasts for roughly 15 years, that is, as long as the athlete remains in top shape and retains the strength and the emotional and spiritual stamina required for intense athletic training and competition.

A true athlete, in conjunction with forging and cultivating the qualities of the new man under the new system, must exhibit the qualities and ethics of the athlete in the following areas:

He must consciously train on his own initiative, train regularly and hard with a high degree of athletic intensity and a high level of effort. This is the special form of labor of the athlete, the product of which is an athletic standard, an athletic skill reflected in athletic achievements and records.

He must display the genuine spirit of sports. When on the playing field, he must compete honestly and do his best to record the highest achievement that can be recorded. "Without waging a tenacious fight, there can be no glorious victory"--this is the precept for everyone who wants to become a soldier and also for everyone who wants to set a record on the sports front.

More than anyone else, the athlete must lead a moderate and wholesome everyday life and reject all the temptations that are so very harmful to sports endeavors (opium addiction, a depraved life and so forth).

The athlete must approach athletic activities and competition with pure motives, his goals being to mold the new man and build a wholesome cultural and spiritual life and his desire being to reach the pinnacle of achievement and bring glory and pride to the fatherland, to his birthplace. This is a political quality and, at the same time, is the basic standard of the character and ethics of the athlete under the socialist system. It is this that is the source of all beautiful thoughts and feelings, that is the solid gold guarantee that the values represented in athletic achievements and records are genuine.

Every possible interesting and captivating approach must be employed to cultivate and create these pure qualities and ethics in athletes, beginning when they are still teenagers and children, when their athletic talents first emerge. We must cultivate these talents and sports ethics at the same time, beginning in childhood. Therefore, the sport talent schools and classes of the localities must have instruction and training programs, policies and subject matter that are comprehensive, that encompass special skills, academic subjects and ethics to insure that they build a corps of athletes whose development is well balanced from the standpoint of both talent and ethics. Every tendency to give light attention to the teaching of politics, ideology and ethics in sports talent schools is a mistake and is harmful.

The trainer is the teacher of special skills. At the same time, the trainer is also the person who teaches ethics to the athlete. The trainer, more than anyone else, has the greatest responsibility and prestige and the best conditions for cultivating the ethics of the athlete. As a teacher who lives with athletes and participates in their training, the trainer usually makes a profound impression upon his students. Each of his words and actions has a very large impact upon the athlete. The training is an educator. He must always be highly conscious of his role in training the next generation of athletes for the country. The trainer must endeavor to cultivate in himself increasingly high skills and prestige.

We must generate a mass movement to praise and make examples of talented athletes while criticizing unethical behavior by athletes in competitions as well as their everyday lives. On the other hand, we must denounce opium addiction and gambling of every form and get rid of athletes who collaborate with gamblers to undermine wholesome sports competitions. Here, the role played by the press is very important. Bringing to light and praising in a deserving manner practices that are good while thoroughly criticizing practices that are not good in the field of sports are an important task of the press. It is very necessary to combine public opinion, of which propaganda and press organizations are the representatives, with the efforts of physical culture-sports agencies in order to select for praise teams and athletes who typify the new style and ethics of sports.

The primary responsibility for training and building the force of athletes in the different sports lies with the agencies that manage physical culture and sports from the central to the local levels and with those basic units that have athletes and sport teams. We must not be so pragmatic that we forget the teaching of ideology. In conjunction with measures and policies that provide appropriate material support so that athletes can improve their physical fitness and technical skill, we must give appropriate attention to managing athletes and teaching politics, ideology and ethics to them. The specifics involved in the cultivation of socialist sports ethics must be incorporated in regulations on managing and building sport teams. These regulations must be strictly observed by units that have sport teams, by all trainers and coaches, all talent schools and training centers and facilities. The statutes on sport championships, from the central to the local levels, must include specific provisions concerning the ethics and style displayed in competitions and in everyday life. We must appropriately praise units and athletes who display good ethics and record achievements. At the same time, we must resolutely and promptly take action against persons who violate ethics in their daily lives and in competitions. It has come time to examine the qualifications of athletes who are addicted to opium, who gamble and "sell out," regardless of how talented they might be. Rightism and an indulgent, form for form's sake attitude in the face of negative phenomena are not only shortcomings in the management and education of athletes, but also amount to tolerating social ills in sports. Persons whose ethics and style are not good should not be allowed to be trainers or coaches.

The highest prize that sport teams and athletes can win is to have their talents and ethics admired and respected by the people. Therefore, it is very necessary that we give outstanding athletes who record high achievements the encouragement, praise and awards that they deserve. But is it not excessive to give the home soccer team that avoids finishing last or finishes higher than it did last time the same formal and boisterous welcome afforded to victorious war heroes? Appropriate praise and strict penalties are of importance in developing upon positive factors and making inroads against negative phenomena in sports.

Genuine sports ethics and achievements are not only the labor achievements of athletes and trainers, but are also a source of pride to those persons who brought them into the world and raised them.

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DINH HOA MOVES STEADILY FORWARD

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8 Aug, 86 pp 74-79, 84

[Article by Ly Xuan Lai, secretary of the Dinh Hoa District Party Committee]

[Text] Together with the other districts of the country, our Dinh Hoa District is actively and urgently preparing for the party organization congresses on the various levels in advance of the party's 6th National Congress. Our district party committee has discussed, debated and seriously evaluated the jobs that have been performed during the past 5 years on many different occasions and prepared guidelines for the years ahead. We have begun to draw a number of experiences in the following areas of our work:

1. Actively Developing the Strengths of the Locality and Taking Steps Toward Making Dinh Hoa a Prosperous and Strong District

Dinh Hoa, a district that lies in the foothills of Bac Thai Province, measures 50,026 hectares. It has 6,910 hectares of agricultural land and 32,300 hectares in forest land. The people of Dinh Hoa have long earned their livings through the cultivation of rice and cassava and the harvesting of forest products. On the basis of directives and resolutions of the upper level and taking into full consideration the special features of the district's land, labor and economic potentials, our district party committee gradually established appropriate production guidelines aimed at thoroughly developing the strengths of the locality. We have defined the strengths of Dinh Hoa as rice (with 4,215 hectares under cultivation), tea (with 1,000 hectares under cultivation) and the harvesting of forest products. Therefore, during the past 5 years, we have focused our investments on developing these strengths and tried to create a position from which the district can steadily develop.

In agricultural production, we have attached foremost importance to expanding the amount of area under the cultivation of rice and practicing intensive cultivation to raise rice yields in order to insure that Dinh Hoa supports itself and gradually increases its contributions to the state. Our policy has been to accelerate the clearing of land and the restoration of fields to production while making full use of all fields on which rice can be grown. On the other hand, because the amount of area under the cultivation of rice in Dinh Hoa cannot be expanded by much, we have had to focus our investments on intensive development and raise crop yields. The basic measure we have taken has been to implement the intensive cultivation guidelines of actively building water conservancy projects, using new varieties of rice, using more fertilizer and applying advanced techniques.

In water conservancy, on the basis of the special features of the district's water sources, we have attached importance to building small-scale water conservancy projects, making full use of natural sources of hydropower and building dams and reservoirs to control water sources. Where possible, we have combined water conservancy with the construction of small hydroelectric power stations to provide electricity to operate pumps and provide lighting for cooperative members. As of the end of 1985, the district had constructed more than 600 dams and reservoirs and 7 hydroelectric power stations with a capacity of 10 to 15 kw. As regards crop varieties, as a result of establishing effective sources of irrigation water, we have been able to introduce new, high yield varieties of wet rice in production. As regards fertilizer, we have encouraged cooperatives to increase the use of organic fertilizer (by producing green manure and making full use of livestock manure). The district has also helped cooperatives to boldly apply technical advances and establish high yield rice growing areas measuring a total of several thousand hectares.

As a result, more than one-half of the district's villages are now achieving average rice yields of 5 tons per hectare or more for the entire year. In particular, the Hong Quang Cooperative in Trung Luong Village, despite many difficulties with irrigation water and as a result of performing good water conservancy work and boldly applying technical advances in production, has produced a yield of 8 tons per hectare, thereby opening new prospects with regard to raising rice yields through intensive cultivation. The district's total grain output rose from 16,361 tons in 1981 to 19,120 tons in 1985.

Along with practicing intensive cultivation to raise rice yields, it has also been the policy of our district party committee to make full use of the land in hills and terraces to increase the cultivation of cassava, considering it to be the second most important grain crop behind rice. Although the ethnic minorities of Dinh Hoa have the habit of raising and eating cassava, cassava production was once very haphazard. The cassava that was planted was not cultivated or fertilized and plantings even spread into forest land. At many places, cassava cannot be harvested until 2 to 3 years after planting. As a result, yields were not high and forests were destroyed. To correct this situation, our district helped the villages to formulate socio-economic development master plans, in which specific areas are zoned for the cultivation of cassava, and instructed cooperative members in the techniques involved in the intensive cultivation of cassava. Cassava production was incorporated in the plan and gradually put on a regular basis. In 1982, the cultivation of cassava was expanded to 706 hectares. In 1985, it was increased to 805 hectares. The expansion of cassava production has helped to develop livestock production within the district and enabled us to supply thousands of tons of fresh cassava to the lowland districts and provinces. There is still much that Dinh Hoa can do to develop cassava production. The problem lies in adopting a correct incentive policy and establishing good processing methods. We are looking for way to encourage cooperatives and their members to make dried cassava slices. At the same time, we are preparing to build cassava flour mills. If this work goes well, we will open a new avenue in the ways we earn a living and be able to incorporate much more cassava in the diet and expand our economic ties with associated units.

The cultivation and processing of tea are a major resource of our district. Although we have only been developing tea production for 20 years, the tea plant has been shown to be very well suited to the soil of Dinh Hoa and has rapidly become the locality's "special product" and one of the products for which Bac Thai is "famous." We have established 26 cooperatives specializing in the cultivation of tea. At the same time, we have attached importance to increasing the amount of area under the cultivation of tea and promoting intensive cultivation to raise tea yields. In 1981, Dinh Hoa had only 680 hectares under the cultivation of tea. This figure rose to 900 hectares in 1985 and is projected to reach 1,000 hectares in 1987. Tea output rose from 1,184 tons in 1982 to 1,797 tons in 1984. In 1985, the district sold to the state 330 tons of dried tea.

Dinh Hoa has rather large forests, which contain many types of valuable wood and forest products. A considerable quantity of wood and forest products can be harvested each year, some of which are very good raw materials in the manufacture of exported handicraft goods. Each year, we supply to the state a few million palm leaves, several hundred thousand pieces of tre bamboo and rattan, a few thousand tons of raw materials used in the production of paper pulp... However, for many years, we only emphasized harvesting the forests and gave little attention to repairing the forests and carrying out afforestation. Each year, as many as 500 hectares of forests were being destroyed. Since 1981, we have attached special importance to protecting and repairing the forests and planting new forests in conjunction with harvesting forest products. We have required that villages formulate forest development planning, effectively carry out the settlement of nomads campaign and gradually turn land and forests over to cooperative member families for their management. All villages have been trying to quickly put an end to the destruction of forests and eventually repair the forests on a regular basis. Today, all villages within the district have completed the assignment of land and forests to cooperative member families for their management. The amount of area on which forest regrowth has occurred and on which new forests have been planted in Dinh Hoa has steadily increased. During the past 5 years, we planted 70 hectares of new forests, mainly Manglietia trees, Bo trees and palm trees. We have also planted 380,000 trees at individual sites.

To increase the sources of food and create the conditions for the development of crop production, we have adopted the policy of promoting livestock production. The natural conditions of Dinh Hoa are very well suited to the development of the raising of the species of large livestock. We have focused our investments in order to rapidly increase the size of the buffalo and cattle herds. In 1981, the buffalo herd numbered 9,680 head. In 1985, this figure rose to 11,524 head. With this buffalo herd, we have achieved self-sufficiency in draft power and annually supply 50 to 80 buffalo to delta provinces. Changes have also occurred in cattle production. Years ago, only Linh Thong Village and Kim Phuong Village raised much cattle. During the past few years, as a result of enacting correct incentive policies and applying the contract policy in cattle production, collective cattle herds have grown rather rapidly. Many cooperative member families have boldly begun to raise breeding cattle. Some families raise 5 to 7 head. The hog herd has also developed strongly. Since 1981, it has increased in size at the average annual rate of 4 to 5 percent. The district now has some 23,000 hogs. We exceed our obligation on the sale of food products to the state by 1 to 5 percent every year.

As a result of the development of production, the standard of living within the district has been steadily improved. For the past several years, each citizen of Dinh Hoa has enjoyed an eating standard of 25 to 28 kilograms of grain per month. The entire district has resolved the grain problem while fulfilling the obligation to contribute grain and food products to the state, thereby laying the initial groundwork for continued steady progress.

2. Developing the Strength of Unity Among the Different Nationalities in Order To Build the District, Build the New Life

Living in Dinh Hoa are nine fraternal ethnic groups, the Tay, Kinh, Nung, Cao Lan, Son Chi and others. The Tay make up 58 percent of the population, the Kinh, 26 percent. Between 1962 and 1964, our district received 12,000 persons coming from Thai Binh Province to build new villages. Dinh Hoa's population of more than 66,000 includes persons from 12 different provinces in the North. However, throughout the course of the long and difficult struggle to produce and fight in defense of the fatherland, the district's fraternal ethnic groups have remained united and close, have helped one another to overcome each difficulty. We can say with pride that the nine ethnic groups within the district are brothers and sisters of one family, that ethnic unity is a valuable tradition of the district, is a strength that has helped us to make steady progress.

This solidarity and closeness among the different ethnic groups exist mainly because our party organization has gained a thorough understanding of and seriously implemented the party's nationalities policy. By means of political and ideological education and in all specific jobs performed on a daily basis, we have displayed a consistent spirit: the ethnic groups living within the district are equal in labor, equal in terms of their obligation to defend the fatherland, equal from the standpoint of rights and equal in the eyes of the law. We have been trying to bring the light of the party to each household and each ethnic group within the district. We have mobilized the people of the various ethnic groups to open and build roads from the district to the villages and from one district to another. Today, automobiles can easily travel on all roads of the 24 villages within the district and the district has favorable conditions for transporting goods between the district and its villages and expanding cultural intercourse among the different ethnic groups.

The realities in Dinh Hoa District have shown that the conditions which guarantee equality and unity among the ethnic groups are mainly developing production and improving the material life of the people. However, one extremely important factor is the need to constantly look after the material and spiritual lives of the various ethnic groups. We have concerned ourselves with promoting cultural, educational and public health work and have campaigned among the people to establish the new way of life. The public health system in the 24 villages has been strengthened. Everyone who is sick or in childbirth can go to the public health facilities of the villages and district. No longer do some persons believe in sorcerers. The prevention of diseases and epidemics is carried out regularly. The education system has developed in both size and quality. The district has 27 basic general schools and one middle school. All three education sectors--general school education, kindergarten education and supplementary education--are rated among the best in the province. Many advances have been made in the movement to eradicate corrupt customs and establish the new way of life. In many villages, the party committee and administration have guided the people in organizing weddings and funerals in accordance with the new way of life.

We consider the training of the corps of ethnic minority cadres to be the important factor guaranteeing ethnic unity. In the assignment of cadres, there was once a time when we only approached the ethnic makeup of the corps of cadres in a form for form's sake manner and did not give full attention to cadre standards. Therefore, not only did we fail to achieve the strength of the corps of cadres, but also failed to build stronger unity and consensus. Gaining experience, we have given much more attention to training and building a pool of cadres. We now consciously look for and cultivate activists, even among general school students. Specifically, we select from among general school graduates a number of persons who show prospects, assign them a number of jobs to forge their skills and then send them for training at schools of the district and province. Cadres are promoted, assigned and reassigned on the basis of standards. As a result, from the district to the basic levels, the corps of ethnic minority cadres has steadily grown. Many of them have performed the work assigned to them well and are truly the nuclei uniting the ethnic groups of the district.

3. Building Solid and Strong Basic Organizations of the Party and Managing the Corps of Party Members Well

In the process of endeavoring to build a solid and strong district party organization, we have given attention to strengthening and building the basic organizations of the party. In our district, facts have shown that places at which the movement is weak are generally places at which the basic organization of the party is experiencing problems that need to be examined, at which internal unity and party discipline are not strong, the corps of cadres is incompetent... In 1982, of the district's 42 basic organizations of the party, 9 were weak and deficient, 22 were above average and 11 were solid and strong. This situation demanded that we build strong and solid basic organizations of the party in order to build a strong and solid district party organization. And, to do this, we have had to maintain, improve and increase the number of advanced model units while helping weak and deficient basic units to improve themselves. With the assistance of the district party committee, basic units analyzed their weaknesses and strengths and set a correct course for themselves. In our district, most of the party organizations and party chapters that were weak and deficient for many years were found in areas that were base areas during the resistance against France. We thus asked ourselves: was it the thinking of being a "meritorious official" and a "handle with care" approach and laxity on the part of the upper level that caused this stagnation at these places? In the case of these places, after soliciting the opinions of the provincial party committee, we took determined disciplinary action against party members who had degenerated and become deviant, required that party members engage in self-criticism and criticism properly, mobilized the masses to contribute their critical opinions of party members and the leadership of the party chapter and reassigned a number of key cadres, thereby making it possible to gradually increase the fighting strength and improve the leadership ability of party chapters and party organizations.

As part of building and strengthening the basic organizations of the party, we have concerned ourselves with training cadres on the basic level. We rated the core cadres of all basic units within the district and, on this basis, set detailed training guidelines for each job title. During the past 2 years, we sent 48 comrades to provincial and central party schools and held on-the-job training classes in economic management for 240 comrades. We have a high assessment of the role played by the district party school in the elementary and advanced training of basic level cadres. However, were we to rely solely upon the district party school, we would be unable to promptly meet requirements. Along with strengthening the operations of the district party school, we have organized training classes in one cluster of villages after another and achieve good results. In 1984 and 1985, holding classes for a cluster of villages helped 430 party members to complete their studies under the elementary program in theory and enabled all party chapter secretaries within the district to receive training in leadership methods. The district party committee has also been helping the villages to formulate cadre and cooperative planning. To date, 18 of the 24 villages have completed their cadre planning. On the basis of this planning, the district has adopted a plan to train a corps of cadres that meets standards and meets the requirements of new tasks.

In conjunction with cadre training, we have also attached importance to the education and management of party members and to assigning each party member to a job. In past years, many party chapters assigned jobs to party members on the basis of the "three plans" but did not inspect or evaluate the results achieved by them. In some party chapters, some party members were not accepting the jobs assigned them by the chapter and party members were not fulfilling their role or exerting their impact among the masses. To correct this shortcoming, we required that party chapters re-examine and re-evaluate their corps of party members and assign specific jobs to them on the basis of the capabilities of each person. We have taken determined action in cases of persons no longer qualified to be party members. Between 1981 and 1985, our district expelled 102 persons from the party. Today, 100 percent of the party chapters within the district have seriously implemented the assignment of jobs to party members, regularly supervise and inspect the work of party members and have gradually put the management of party members on a regular basis. At one time, 40 percent of the members of the Trung Luong Village party organizations, particularly retired party members, did not accept the jobs assigned to them. During the past several years, this party organization has assigned clearly defined jobs to its members and has regularly inspected their work. Every party member has a book to keep track of the performance of assigned tasks. In this book they record the work that must be done and the observations and evaluations made by the party chapter each month. This assignment of tasks is done in public before the masses so that they can inspect what is done and contribute their opinions. This thorough approach has helped party members to achieve higher party consciousness. In 1984 and 1985, of the 46 basic organizations of the party within the district, 26 were rated solid and strong, 17 were rated above average and 3 were rated weak. The Dinh Hoa District party organization has been nominated for recognition as a solid and strong party organization.

4. Improving the Style of Leadership and Work Methods of the District Party Committee

The changes and progress that have occurred in Dinh Hoa over the past several years have also been the result of the district party committee gradually improving its leadership and guidance and developing its role as leader of the basic organizations. Together with strengthening the district party committee by putting on the committee young cadres who possess leadership and management skills (the average age of district party committee members declined from 42.7 in 1981 to 40.5 in 1984 and 50 percent of district party committee members have a college or middle school education), we have tried to revamp the committee's style and methods of work. Our district has established a rather strict set of work regulations. For example, we have stipulated that the duty section of the district party committee meet on Saturday of each week to exchange views. The standing committee of the district party committee meets once each month. The district party committee itself meets once each month. On the 25th of each month, party chapters hold their meetings and, on the 28th, party committee secretaries travel to the district seat to report on the situation. On the 30th, the offices and sections meet to review the work performed during the month and set guidelines for the coming month.

We have been making efforts to perform our work on the basis of the principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership combined with personal accountability. Drawing experience from previous years, the district party committee is determined to cultivate a thorough and detailed style of leadership and guidance, the style of always being in close touch with basic organizations, with the masses. In addition to their specialized jobs, each party committee member has also been put in charge of a number of villages.

Leadership backed by inspections represents a new change in the style of leadership within our district. There was a time when we did not attach appropriate importance to inspections, particularly to inspecting the implementation of party directives and resolutions. We did little by way of summarizing and drawing experience from work that had been performed. "Unfinished work" and "mobilization" but not "action" were rather widespread. Sometimes, the district party committee would adopt a work program but no one would know how well it was subsequently being carried out. Now, we consider inspections and supervision, consider conducting reviews and drawing experience to be indispensable parts of leadership and guidance. In addition to regularly inspecting the implementation of the resolutions and directives of the upper level and the district party committee, we also inspect the activities of the party chapters and basic party organizations. In 1983, we conducted comprehensive inspections of eight party organizations. In 1985, we inspected 24 party organizations. As a result, we have been able to evaluate and rate basic organizations more accurately.

During the past 5 years, although our district has begun to create a position from which rather solid progress can be made, we see that we still must make very many efforts in all areas in order to meet the requirements we face.

At present, we are experiencing a very serious shortage of cadres, particularly key cadres and highly specialized cadres within the various sectors. Meanwhile, we are experiencing more than a few difficulties in the training of cadres. The standards that our students meet are, generally speaking, still low compared to general requirements. Very few students have the marks needed to enter colleges and middle schools. Meanwhile, because procedures and policies are irrational, some graduates of our schools do not want to work in the mountains. We plan to correct this situation by contacting colleges and having them send persons here to study, with all costs being paid by our locality. These persons will be included in the district's cadre planning. On the other hand, we will give more attention to general school education and create favorable conditions for the children of the ethnic minorities to attend general schools in order to create a pool of cadres for remote, wilderness villages.

The forest industry is a strength of the district. However, we have not done much to develop this industry nor have we established a profitable business model. We are trying to increase the percentage of the labor force working in the forest industry to 15 percent (from the current level of 5 percent) within the next few years and will enact appropriate policies designed to encourage each cooperative member to participate in afforestation and the repair of forests, thereby rapidly increasing the sources of revenue from the forests.

Our goal is to make Dinh Hoa a district that has an agro-forestry-industrial structure. At present, however, Dinh Hoa's industry is very small. Small industry and the handicraft trades only account for 5.6 percent of total income. We will try to open new trades and increase the percentage of income produced by small industry and the handicraft trades in two ways: producing building materials (bricks, lime and stone) and producing export goods and processing agricultural and forest products.

Clearly aware of our shortcomings and weaknesses, we will discuss them at the upcoming congress of the district party organization and adopt corrective guidelines and measures so that we can continue to advance the district's movement and endeavor to make Dinh Hoa increasingly prosperous and strong.

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WHAT DOES THIEU YEN SHOW US?

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 86 pp 80-84

[Article by Le Tam Huong]

[Text] For many years, the Thieu Yen District party organization faced pressing questions: why were the people of Thieu Yen, which lies in a rice growing area, living in hunger? Why did Thieu Yen, through which three rivers run, annually experience drought and waterlogging? Why, with the abundant potentials in its labor, arable land and minerals, were the material-technical bases of Thieu Yen so poorly developed?

In the movement to build the district and strengthen the district level and in keeping with Thanh Hoa Province's strategic guidelines of "moving forward on the basis of grain and exports" and then "moving forward on the basis of grain, exports and the production of a wide variety of goods," Thieu Yen found ways to resolve its difficulties in order to advance at a rapid rate and bring about strong and very encouraging changes. Agriculture has developed strongly, especially grain production. In 1985, the production of exports and the export business stood at a level 15 times higher than on the day that the district was formed through the merger. A new system of material-technical bases has been and is being constructed to effectively support production and everyday life. As a result, grain production has steadily increased: from 70,551 tons in 1981 to 86,790 tons in 1985. The standard of living has been stabilized and markedly improved: in 1985, grain consumption per member of the agricultural population reached 461 kilograms. Contributions to the state have steadily risen: 6,522 tons in 1981 and 25,762 tons in 1985...

From the way of thinking and working employed by Thieu Yen to make the progress that it has over the past several years, valuable experiences can be drawn.

1. Displaying the Spirit of Initiative and the Sense of Self-reliance and Moving Forward on the Basis of One's Specific Conditions and through One's Own Efforts

In the movement to build the district level, Thieu Yen was not selected as a pilot project district. However, realizing the strategic significance of the district level, the comrades in Thieu Yen took the initiative and "acted on their own" in accordance with the general policy. Established in August 1977 through the merger of the 28 villages of former Yen Dinh District and the 15 villages of former Thieu Hoa District, Thieu Yen District was a weak district. The district's terrain is rather complex, ranging from 15 meters above sea level at its highest point to 2.8 meters above sea level at its lowest point. Some 25 percent of its farmland was depleted. Production was based on monoculture and unstable and yields were low. By 1981, the district still had not crossed the 4 tons of rice per hectare "threshold" and its peanut yield was the lowest in the province. Some 40 percent of cooperatives were weak and deficient. However, Thieu Yen had confidence in its own strength, in the potentials lying in its labor and arable land: a population of 201,129 persons whose revolutionary tradition dated back to 1930, 9,800 of whom were party members and 75,000 of whom were laborers; 1,000 square meters of agricultural land per capita; abundant limestone, sand and clay; more than a few traditional handicraft trades being practiced among the people...

Clearly understanding their district's special characteristics, the comrades in Thieu Yen decided to concentrate on developing agriculture and forestry in a comprehensive manner and at a high and stable rate, with emphasis placed on grain production, while establishing an agricultural product processing industry, expanding the trades among the people and developing the traditional trades with a view toward establishing an agro-forestry-industrial economic structure, the development of which is oriented toward large-scale, socialist production, firmly resolving the grain problem, producing many export goods, steadily improving the standard of living and making increasingly large contributions to the state. However, the problem we faced is that we needed to have initial capital in order to implement these correct guidelines.

How were we to acquire initial capital?

Instead of relying upon the state, Thieu Yen took many measures that reflect a high spirit of initiative and sense of self-reliance, most importantly vigorously upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people, relying upon the people and mobilizing their efforts in order to acquire the necessary materials and equipment. The comrades in Thieu Yen realize that the people must be given an understanding of all jobs that are in their interest. The people must be made to feel that they want to perform these jobs, that they must and will perform them regardless of how difficult they might be.

For example, water conservancy was established as the measure of foremost importance. However, virtually resolving the problems of waterlogging and drought required that we have numerous electric pump stations and make large investments of labor and money. We could not sit and wait for the state. What Thieu Yen did was to mobilize the accumulated capital of cooperatives and the labor and money of the people. This essentially amounted to the agglomeration and centralization of capital for the purpose of investing in key projects within the context of advancing from small-scale production. As a result, in the space of only several years (1981-1985), Thieu Yen built and put into use 25 electric pump stations consisting of 122 pumps, each with a capacity of 1,000 cubic meters per hour; installed two intermediary transformer stations; constructed 23 low voltage transformer stations; and erected more than 1,000 high voltage and low voltage electricity poles with nearly 80 kilometers of power line. The total amount of capital invested has risen to 50 million dong(1), of which 10 million dong have been supplied by the state, 15 million dong have come in the form of self-acquired capital of the district and 25 million dong have been contributed by cooperatives and the people, not including the mandays worked by them. To date, 33 of the district's 42 villages have electricity. The remaining villages are competing against one another to save money, rice and hogs so that they can be spent on electricity for water conservancy. Generally speaking, of the capital invested in the construction of Thieu Yen's material-technical bases, the major portion, as much as 60 percent, has come in the form of contributions by basic units and the people. The province has only supplied 17 percent. The bank has provided 21 percent in loans. The district budget has supplied 2 percent. Each village has also volunteered to participate in giving the district a 10 room tile building to provide work space. This reflects the closeness that exists between the district and the basic units and the confidence that the people have in the leadership of the party and state on the district level.

In addition to directly mobilizing capital among the people, Thieu Yen has also taken the initiative in creating capital for the district by developing the production of a number of goods that have high profit margins and increasing state budget revenue sources. Thieu Yen very clearly recognizes that in order for the district to become an economic unit, become a comprehensive planning level and truly take the initiative in formulating its yearly economic development plan, it absolutely must have capital acquired on its own and a sufficiently large supply of grain and materials. During the past 5 years, using capital acquired on its own, Thieu Yen has spent 39 million dong to quickly and completely build and put into use the district state-operated fish farm and enterprises processing agricultural products, paper and fish sauce. Some 4 million dong have been spent on the repair and construction of schools. With the district's supply of several thousand tons of grain and its supply of materials, Thieu Yen has kept the standard of living stable during years of natural disasters, established economic ties to promptly meet necessary material needs, taken the initiative in redistributing labor and expanded production within the district.

Clearly, Thieu Yen's position reflects the initiative and creativity of persons who know how to achieve development using their own specific conditions and their own strength.

2. Attaching Foremost Importance to Economic Efficiency

In its self-reliant effort to build the district into an economic unit that is developed in every respect, Thieu Yen has attached importance to applying economic laws in management, with foremost importance attached to economic efficiency. One can cite a host of policies that have been implemented which attest to the organizational and management skills of the comrades in Thieu Yen. Thieu Yen has established economic ties with nearly 20 economic-technical units to establish new varieties of rice and acquire necessary materials and equipment. Once a project has been thoroughly planned, the necessary capital is immediately put together and the project is constructed in the shortest possible amount of time. Many enterprises have gone into production in less than 1 year after the start of construction, such as the agricultural products processing enterprise, the fish sauce enterprise and the steel reinforced concrete boat assembly plant. In some cases, such as the paper enterprise, they have gone into production in only 4 months. To quickly meet the needs for farm implements, the district's machine enterprise was also strengthened and upgraded in a short amount of time.

To achieve higher economic returns from its new material-technical bases, Thieu Yen has, by means of every available economic measure, boldly changed the structure of production and the allocation of crops, eliminated monoculture, initiated intensive cultivation to raise crop yields and rapidly applied technical advances, such as gradually selecting high yield, pest resistant varieties of rice that are compatible with the conditions during each season and in each growing area. Low yield crops must give way to crops that produce higher yields and are of higher economic value. For example, we have reduced the amount of area under the cultivation of spring corn and do not raise spring sweet potatoes. We have put more land under the cultivation of crops of high export value, such as peanuts (200 hectares in 1981 and more than 2,000 hectares in 1985), tobacco (200 hectares), pepper (200 hectares) and castor oil plants (100 hectares). Sugarcane has been planted in place of cassava, etc.

All these changes in production guidelines have been smoothly implemented as a result of using economic levers. For example, the district sells 1 quintal of rice in trade for every ton of sugarcane supplied to the sugar mill. Consequently, it is more profitable for a farmer to raise 1 hectare of sugarcane than 2 hectares of cassava. One sao of tobacco sold to the state brings as much in income as 3 sao of rice, etc.

The district also considers it important to process agricultural products to increase their economic value: 1 quintal of ground pepper produces 5 times more in income than 1 quintal of fresh pepper. The district's agricultural products processing enterprise has a capacity of 100 tons of cakes and candies, 50 tons of noodles and 50,000 liters of alcohol per year.

As regards livestock production, in addition to buffalo, cattle, hogs and chickens, Thieu Yen has expanded its duck herd to one-half million ducks. Excluding meat ducks, the district produces a significant quantity of duck down (20 tons in 1984) for exportation in trade for materials and equipment for production.

Thieu Yen has also accelerated the production of other export products, such as corn silk carpets, jute rugs and woven rattan and bamboo ware.

A positive attitude toward work for the purpose of exceeding contract quotas in agriculture is strongly encouraged: we do not quickly increase contract quotas because they are exceeded by a wide margin as this would reduce the enthusiasm for production. At times when much paddy but less rice are produced and the overall supply of grain is significant, the district uses this supply not to generate illegitimate revenues, but to take the initiative in changing the structure of production within agriculture as well as the structure of the economy, in general, and to subsidize the people in villages struck by natural disasters so that they are able to keep crop production on schedule.

As a result of skillfully applying economic laws, providing material incentives, combining the interests of the farmer with the interests of the state in a way that is well balanced, closely tying labor to the final product and attaching full importance to economic efficiency, each dong of capital and each manday that have been invested have produced the largest and surest possible profit as quickly as possible. Thieu Yen has gradually revamped the structure of its economy, stepped up production, improved the standard of living and made increasingly large contributions to the state.

3. Establishing Close Ties Between the District and Basic Units and Considering Building the District and Building Basic Units To Be One and the Same Thing

Thieu Yen has not only concerned itself with building a solid and strong district party organization and solid and strong agencies and mass organizations within the district, but has also closely tied the building of the district to building and strengthening basic units. The district can only truly be solid and strong when basic units are strong and uniformly developed. Because, it is the basic units that directly control labor and land, that directly create the result of production.

Therefore, it is the policy of our district to first help basic units to establish correct production guidelines and promptly meet the requirements necessary for basic units to implement these production guidelines well. Of decisive significance is the need to re-examine and re-evaluate the corps of cadres at basic units in accordance with the new requirements and adopting training plans.

Through the revolutionary movements of the masses, Thieu Yen has selected a corps of key cadres consisting of village party committee secretaries, village people's committee chairmen and cooperative directors who dare to think and act, are sensitive and flexible, possess the ability to organize, manage and guide the implementation of the lines and policies of the party within their units and know how to operate efficiently. In 1985, with the assistance of the province's on-the-job training center and the Hanoi College of Economics and Planning, the district held on-the-job training classes in economic management for 70 core cadres at basic units. All training costs were paid by the district, including the costs for labor sent to schools, considering this to be an investment in economic development.

To keep abreast of the situation at basic units, Thieu Yen has given its attention to both good units and weak units. Quy Loc Village (formerly the two villages of Yen Quy and Yen Loc), the district's largest, has a population of nearly 10,000 and 1,000 hectares of land used to raise rice and subsidiary food crops. Since 1978, Quy Loc reorganized its population, reorganized its production, built two transformer stations with a capacity of 280 kilowatts and 320 kilowatts and upgraded 100 hectares to two crop fields. As a result, Quy Loc has raised the yields of rice and corn. Total grain output is now 4,500 tons per year, an average of 450 kilograms per capita. It has raised the value of industrial crops to 30 percent of the value of its total output. It earns hundreds of millions of dong from small industry and the handicraft trades and annually exports 140 tons of peanuts and 12,000 square meters of corn silk carpets. Quy Loc leads the district in the formation of capital and has put together an increasingly large village budget (the current budget surplus is nearly 400,000 dong) while contributing much to the state. It is correct for the district to have attached importance to Quy Loc. However, the district has also given special attention to investing both manpower and money in weak villages. For example, in 1980, Yen Bai Village was still a weak village that practiced monoculture and did not have effective irrigation or drainage. Living conditions in the village were difficult and although the village has no shortage of land for subsidiary food crops, its people lacked sweet potatoes. Internal unity had been lost. The district strengthened the corps of key cadres, helped Yen Bai to formulate production guidelines and a production plan and supplied it with capital and materials for the construction of an electric pump station with two 1,000 cubic meter per hour pumps. Having achieved effective irrigation and drainage, Yen Bai zoned two areas for the production of rice (an area of deep fields and an area of shallow fields), changed the allocation of crops and introduced high yield varieties in place of old varieties. In 1985, it also began raising tobacco. As a result, the yields of all crops have risen. Total grain output rose from 800 tons in 1980 to 1,800 tons in 1985. Livestock production has developed. The living conditions of the people have been improved. Internal unity has been established and obligations to the state are being met and exceeded.

By giving its attention to both ends of the spectrum, Thieu Yen has achieved uniform economic and social development within the district. Some basic units that were once weak have now become advanced units. The number of above average and advanced cooperatives has steadily grown. Only two cooperatives in the 42 villages are weak. It can be said that Thieu Yen is moving into the front rank. This can be seen in the development of production, in the people's standard of living, in contributions to the state and even in every aspect of the district's work. In cultural and social work, for example, the 42 villages have 42 basic general schools and there are 3 middle schools and 1 formal supplementary education school within the district, all of which are of permanent construction. There are enough classrooms, desks and chairs for 50,000 students. The 42 villages have 42 public health stations. The district has two hospitals with 100 beds and one area general medical examination station. The wired radio network extends to one-half of the villages. The district's movie projection corporation is meeting the film viewing needs of the people of the entire district...

With the assistance of the upper level, Thieu Yen has struggled and recorded significant achievements. The achievements recorded by Thieu Yen in agricultural production (including livestock production), exports, small industry and the handicraft and artisan trades, the building of material-technical bases, circulation-distribution, cultural and social work, national defense and security are not among the highest and, in some cases, are even less than those recorded by many other model districts. However, Thieu Yen's development has been uniform and relatively stable.

Thieu Yen must also overcome many weaknesses. The district's agro-forestry-industrial structure is only beginning to form and its industry is insignificant. The district still has many potentials but they are not being appropriately developed. Crop yields are not high. Full attention has not been given to the household economy. The scale of production and the output of export goods are still small compared to capabilities and requirements. The cultural and spiritual lives of the people are still poor. The training and strengthening of the corps of cadres continue to be a major problem. Most pressing is the need to train industrial management cadres.

However, with economic thinking that has begun to be revised and a new and efficient style of operating, Thieu Yen has created momentum that is moving in the right direction. This momentum will lead Thieu Yen to development that is more rapid, to new and larger achievements.

FOOTNOTES

1. Based on prices and money in effect prior to September 1985.

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THE TAY GIANG MARKETING COOPERATIVE, A GOOD MODEL OF SUPPORTING PRODUCTION AND THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 86 pp 85-89

[Article by Doan Dinh Hue]

[Text] Once a weak business unit, the Tay Giang Marketing Cooperative in Tien Hai District, Thai Binh Province has today become a unit that has earned the title "Labor Hero." Every gain made by the cooperative has involved very difficult and arduous struggle. In its many stages of challenges, the Tay Giang Marketing Cooperative has overcome each difficulty and gradually moved steadily forward.

Organizing the Circulation of Goods Well To Support Agricultural Production and the Life of the People

During its early days, the Tay Giang Marketing Cooperative only acted as an agent for state-operated commerce. As a result, its business revenues on the rural market were small and the quantity of goods supplied by it was limited and did not meet the needs of the people. The cooperative did not develop sources of goods and, as a result, could not gain control over the rural market.

The comrades in Tay Giang realized that in order to step up production and serve the needs of everyday life, circulation had to be well organized. Therefore, they gave their attention to building and developing a marketing cooperative.

In Tay Giang, the steady development of production and living conditions has demanded that circulation develop accordingly. With the production of the collective economy and the cooperative member household economy developing and more and more goods being produced, producers, after fulfilling their obligations to the state and setting aside what they need for personal consumption, have been putting the rest of their products on sale on the market. With socialist commerce unable to organize procurements in order to control goods, these goods have fallen into the hands of private merchants, thus causing the free market to steadily grow.

At present, the forces of state-operated commerce are unable to reach basic production units and also unable to meet the large and diverse requirements of the people. As a result, marketing cooperatives must organize business on their own, develop local sources of goods and process these local goods to help meet the requirements of production and the daily lives of the people.

In 1967, the comrades in Tay Giang recognized this fact and made every effort to build and strengthen their marketing cooperative so that it increasingly fulfilled its role as the assistant of state-operated commerce, developed the services and gained control over the market in the countryside. The Tay Giang Marketing Cooperative gradually put the sale and purchase of local goods on a regular basis. It has bought whatever products farmers have had to sell. It has also sold all the products it has procured. It sells products at any time of day and also trades products for other products. As a result, the total sales revenue of the Tay Giang Cooperative has continuously risen: 1968: 183,866 dong (old money); 1973: 969,000 dong; 1980: 1,170,337 dong; 1983: 7,299,441 dong; and 1985: 27,737,120 dong. In recent years, goods obtained by the cooperative itself have accounted for a very high percentage of its business revenues (1985: 70-80 percent). This also proves that the Tay Giang Marketing Cooperative takes a very dynamic approach to the procurement and sale of goods and uses its capital in a way that yields good returns.

To support agricultural production and the daily lives of the people well, the marketing cooperative has established its business guidelines as supplying necessary goods and common farm implements for production in the countryside and promptly marketing the agricultural products and goods produced by the collective economy and the cooperative member household economy. The marketing cooperative has established close ties with the agricultural cooperative in the village. As a result, the marketing cooperative has kept abreast of needs and provided a full supply of various products for agricultural production, from seed, sickles, hoes and shovels to baskets, buckets, waterwheels, improved vehicles and stone axles, from hog and chicken breeding stock to buffalo and cattle breeding stock, from seed duckweed to seed potatoes...

In each of its different periods, the Tay Giang Marketing Cooperative has kept abreast of the situation in fields and supported agricultural production in a very dynamic, effective and efficient manner. When the agricultural cooperative was a collective production organization, the marketing cooperative served meals in fields to laborers at busy times in the season.(1) When the new contract system was implemented in agriculture, the marketing cooperative quickly gave its attention to procuring everything from stone axles to breeding buffalo and cattle (50 head) and other means of production for supply to each cooperative member household accepting contract fields. Since 1982, the Tay Giang Marketing Cooperative has regularly sold the five rationed products to each cooperative member household (fish sauce: 12 liters per year; meat or fish: 3 kilograms per year; sugar: 3 kilograms per year; bean curd or dried fish: 3 kilograms per year; sesame, peanuts or beans: 3 kilograms per year, all at prices 25 to 40 percent lower than market prices). These are the specific, practical steps taken by the marketing cooperative to support agricultural production. Partially as a result of these steps, the yield of rice in Tay Giang rose from 5 tons per hectare in 1979 to 7 tons per hectare in 1985.

Under its function as retail sales agent for state-operated commerce, the marketing cooperative took steps at an early date to develop its own business by developing sources of goods produced by farmers within the locality, organizing the local processing of products and establishing a broad line of products. The cooperative sends persons to buy the "percentage" of crabs and salted fish that fishing cooperative members keep for themselves, which are used to process fish sauce locally. Each year, the cooperative produces more than 6,000 liters of fish sauce. The marketing cooperative has opened a food counter and a beverage counter. The products sold at these counters are made from local ingredients. The food counter sells noodles with beef, Chinese noodles, pork tripe soup and a number of other cooked dishes. The beverage stand sells ice cream, tea, fruit juice... In recent years, the food counter has organized the cooking of meat pies, meat rolls, noodles with beef and vermicelli rolls and begun making rice flour noodles in exchange for rice to provide a diet that is well suited to elderly persons and persons who are ill. The practical steps taken by the marketing cooperative have made it possible for eight households of small merchants to shift from making rice flour noodles and cakes to agricultural production.

The successful transformation of small merchants within Tay Giang--the credit for which lies with the marketing cooperative--is another very important economic and social achievement. Whenever they have a product to sell, even something very small, such as a bunch of bananas or a few eggs, farmers always look to sell them to the person who offers the highest price, even if this price is only a few dong higher. They are usually more concerned with prices than the labor they must invest in bringing their products to market, even though, in many cases, the prices that their products bring are not worth the effort. Because its profit margin is low, the procurement prices of the marketing cooperative are at least equal to those paid by small merchants and its selling prices are always about 15 percent lower. On the other hand, because the marketing cooperative has a good reputation, the masses usually sell their products to it. The marketing cooperative views procurements as controlling goods and sales as controlling money. In both procurements and sales, the cooperative operates in a very dynamic fashion. It turns its capital over quickly and earns a high net profit, even though its profit margin is relatively low. This is the very basic economic return from the cooperative's correct approach to business and support activities. In 1985 alone, as a result of developing its procurement and sales services, Tay Giang saved more than 4,000 mandays in agricultural production.

The comrades in Tay Giang have also given thought to how to organize a convenient, fair and rational procurement and sales network and mode of distribution. The first problem the marketing cooperative faced was to select suitable sites for the establishment of stores, sites that would make it convenient for the cooperative to buy and sell products and would increase its business revenues. On the other hand, the marketing cooperative also had to take care of everything from the printing of product procurement cards and record forms to keep track of payments to the establishment of a distribution section and the public announcement of each type product, prices, the categories of persons eligible to buy these products and applicable standards. On the basis of the standards that apply to each category of persons eligible for rationed goods, the cooperative organized the packaging of ration portions of a number of products and divided into small sizes some products that were previously sold at the counters. On days when laborers are very busy, on holidays and during Tet, the stores usually take goods to production units so that they can be promptly distributed. Persons are sent by the stores to take products for sale to the homes of the families of war invalids and war dead and families who are short of help. The Tay Giang Marketing Cooperative has exceeded its plan quotas every year and its business revenues have increased with each passing year (by 186 percent in 1982, 141 percent in 1984 and 210 percent in 1985).

Through its service activities, the marketing cooperative has helped to transform small merchants and manage the market in the countryside. Its service network consists of public food, haircutting and tailoring counters and units that mill livestock feed, produce and repair furniture, repair farm implements, produce paving bricks, make rice paper for exportation, make ice cream and ice and repair electric storage batteries. As a result of developing its services, the annual revenues of the marketing cooperative have risen rapidly. The cooperative provides its services at prices 20 to 25 percent lower than private services. The service activities of the Tay Giang Marketing Cooperative during the past several years have helped to reduce the number of small merchants within the village from 197 (1976) to 5. These small merchants voluntarily went out of business and did not quit as a result of having their business licenses revoked.

Improving Management in Conjunction with Expanding the Cooperative's Business

The Tay Giang Marketing Cooperative maintains that while expanding its business, it must also attach importance to management. The purpose of good management is to achieve high economic efficiency and lay the basis for the expansion of business. Over the years, the Tay Giang Marketing Cooperative has operated on the basis of plans, calculated economic efficiency and expanded its business in a manner closely tied to providing good economic management. Each year, after receiving its plan norms from the district and assessing the consumer needs of the people and production needs, the cooperative formulates its own plans. Besides its plan for the circulation of goods, which is formulated for a specific period of time and each product sector and group, the marketing cooperative also formulates capital and circulation expenses plans and a profit plan. In addition, it also adopts a long-term plan for the construction of material bases and the expansion of its business (1976-1980, 1981-1985). The process of the marketing cooperative implementing its business expansion plan has also been the process of improving the management of money and goods as well as the management of labor.

Through capital acquired on its own together with capital borrowed from the bank and from the agricultural cooperative, the Tay Giang Marketing Cooperative has expanded its business activities in many different ways, through production, repair services and processing, in order to create sources of goods. It has organized the procurement of nua bamboo for more than 50 cooperative member households who weave mats under contract. As a result, it receives tens of thousands of bamboo mats each year, which it uses to support agriculture. The marketing cooperative has opened a carpentry shop which repairs and makes desks, chairs, beds, cabinets, window frames, cupboards and production tools for sale to the people. In the process of doing business on the basis of its own capital, the marketing cooperative has increased the turnover rate of capital (8 times in 1979, 9 times in 1981, 10 times in 1983 and 12 times in 1985).

The Tay Giang Marketing Cooperative attaches importance to bookkeeping and to its corps of managers. It has assigned each bookkeeper the responsibility of following and supervising transactions from the time initial paper work is issued until the conclusion of the business process. The cooperative's director, who is also its chief bookkeeper, keeps thorough accounting records for each product produced and processed by the cooperative. Whenever a new product source is discovered, the marketing cooperative calculates the economic returns from the product and makes sure that the two requirements of providing a good service and supporting the struggle to transform the market are met.

The mechanism "the party leads, the state manages and the laboring people exercise collective ownership" has been implemented well by the Tay Giang Marketing Cooperative. At cooperative member congresses, the comrades in Tay Giang attach importance to upholding the right of collective ownership of cooperative members by having them participate in building the cooperative; by strengthening the leadership and guidance of each activity by the control section; by having the persons who represent the cooperative member congress supervise all work within the marketing cooperative; by inspecting the implementation of the system of ownership by the masses, particularly economic ownership through the distribution of goods and profits to cooperative members; and even by examining the consciousness of cooperative members concerning the task of building the marketing cooperative. Of its annual profits, the cooperative distributes 50 percent to its members through product subsidies, with the remaining 50 percent being used by the cooperative in its business. The annual profits distributed to cooperative members through the sale of goods at low prices effectively support the standard of living of cooperative members and produce economic returns, as a result of which cooperative members feel closer to the cooperative and approach production with a feeling of security.

In 1985, the Tay Giang Marketing Cooperative, which began as a poor unit with little capital, had 4.5 million dong in self-acquired capital and an impressive base consisting of four stores measuring 620 square meters, 12 stands, 3 automobiles, 1 meeting hall and a relatively full supply of equipment. The Tay Giang Marketing Cooperative has also attached importance to maintaining its material base by assigning specific responsibilities to each person and group and conducting regular inspections through record books, documentation, invoices and so forth in order to avoid negative phenomena.

The economic management of the marketing cooperative complies with principles, policies and procedures. In everything from the keeping of records and accounting to the settlement of accounts, the cooperative is recognized as a model unit.

The realities of Tay Giang have proven that good economic returns can surely be achieved in basic economic units if they provide sound economic management, make the plan the center of their operations and closely tie the plan to economic accounting and socialist business practices. Every negative phenomenon can be thwarted if they attach importance to training management cadres and fully comply with the economic management principles, regulations and policies of the state.

Besides strongpoints, the Tay Giang Marketing Cooperative must also take steps to overcome certain limitations. For example, the use of capital is still decentralized and does not focus on the development of business. In recent years, the marketing cooperative has made many investments in the construction of material bases, particularly in capital construction, as a result of which its fixed capital has increased rapidly but its business capital has grown slowly. If the cooperative learns how to turn over its capital in a rational manner consistent with its ability to carry out capital formation, it will achieve larger economic returns.

The effort to understand consumer needs in production and in the daily lives of the people in the countryside is not thorough. For this reason, the marketing cooperative has not, from the standpoint of organizing local sources of goods, given its attention to vigorously developing these sources in both breadth and depth. The large fields of Tay Giang provide many potentials for multicropping, for companion and overlapping catch crops and for the specialized production of subsidiary food crops. The marketing cooperative must hold discussions with the agricultural cooperative to adopt guidelines and zone areas for the production of suitable vegetables, subsidiary food crops, soybeans, peanuts, garlic, pepper and so forth with the aim of increasing local sources of goods and helping to provide more products for exportation. The household economy in Tay Giang still holds large potentials. While the marketing cooperative has taken steps to develop these potentials and procures agricultural and food products from this economy, the level of development achieved by the cooperative is not high.

A look at the economic activities of the Tay Giang Marketing Cooperative shows that the profits from handicraft production account for a high percentage of total profits, particularly from the production and repair of wood furniture (30 to 40 percent). This is a source of revenues in which the cooperative can do business on its own. However, in this area, the marketing cooperative should appropriately limit its activities. The production of wood furniture is not part of the marketing cooperative's function. In view of the fact that a handicraft cooperative has not been established and the trade sector within the agricultural cooperative has not been developed, the marketing cooperative can temporarily perform this work. Over the long-range, however, it would be better for the marketing cooperative to focus its efforts on providing good circulation in support of production and everyday life.

The Tay Giang Marketing Cooperative is one of the many marketing cooperatives of Thai Binh Province that started out facing many difficulties and have gradually made steady progress without any preferential conditions of any kind and through nothing more than their own dynamism and creativity. This provides a good model of how to creatively apply the party's position concerning the development of socialist commerce under the actual conditions of one's locality with the aim of supporting agricultural production and the life of the people well.

FOOTNOTES

1. Between 1977 and 1979, the marketing cooperative served 182,854 meals.

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IDEOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES: ONCE AGAIN THE SUBJECT OF 'THE PARTICULAR AND THE GENERAL'

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 86 pp 90-91

[Letter from Vu Hung with comment by the Editorial Board of TAP CHI CONG SAN]

[Text] To the Editorial Board of TAP CHI CONG SAN:

In its January 1986 issue, TAP CHI CONG SAN, in the review's "Ideological Activities" section, carried an article entitled: "The Particular and the General" by Ha Phuong.

I feel that it is necessary to exchange opinions with the author concerning a few points.

Although Ha Phuong acknowledges that "the particular and the general are one of the basic pairs of categories of the material dialectic," throughout his article, I see the author as misunderstanding and confusing the essence, the organic relationships and the meanings of "the party and the general" as one of the basic pairs of categories of the material dialectic.

The author states: "According to Marxism-Leninism, the particular is always part of the general, always reflects and is controlled by the general and the general always encompasses and is defined by the particular." The author cites an example to illustrate this more clearly: "A drop of water in the sea, a tree in the forest, an individual in the collective, a locality in the country...are one part of the whole and all are part of a relationship between the particular and the general." And, the author concludes: "Establishing a good relationship among the interests of the individual, the interests of the collective and the interests of the state is the same thing as establishing a good relationship between the particular and the general."

On the basis of this understanding of the particular and the general as well as the relationship between the particular and the general, the author addresses the issue's political and ideological significance. The author asserts that capitalism extols the particular, that it places sole emphasis upon the particular because it is "based on the particular," such as "private property," "private ownership," "individual interests" and "the selfish 'me.'" On the other hand, also according to the author, socialism, which is based on the public ownership of the means of production and has the goal of satisfying the rising needs of all the people, "takes a dialectical and scientific view; therefore, it usually recognizes and establishes the correct relationship between the particular and the general... It does not create opposition between the particular and the general nor does it suppress the particular... It shows full respect for the particular but, while respecting and protecting the particular, also gives very much attention to the general and demands that the particular be part of and support the general. The general opens the way for the particular to function fully and achieve brilliant development while the particular does everything for the sake of the general, enriches the general" and so forth.

Having read the above, it is my feeling that the author misunderstands the essence of the pair of categories "the particular and the general" of the material dialectic and the relationship between these categories.

To prove this, allow me to cite an excerpt from something Lenin wrote on the subject of the particular and the general:

"The particular exists only as it relates to the general. The general only exists within the particular and through the particular. The particular (everything) is also the general. The general is also 'a part, an aspect, a characteristic' of the particular. Everything general only encompasses everything particular in a general way. Everything particular is not fully a part of the general, etc."(Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1981, Volume 29, p 381)

Thus, here, the particular and the general are opposites that exist objectively within each thing, phenomenon and process, are closely interrelated and mutate into one another. The particular is the philosophical category that reflects specific things, phenomena and processes that have unique characteristics not duplicated in other things, phenomena and processes, for example, a specific person (person A), a specific tree, a specific animal or a specific nation (Vietnam), a specific planet (earth), etc. The general is the philosophical category that reflects the similar features, attributes and relationships in many particular things, phenomena and processes. For example, the general characteristics of the species (plant life, animal life and man) are the exchange of matter between the body and the environment and heredity and mutation, which are evident in every plant, every animal and every human. The general characteristics of nations (be they Vietnam, the Soviet Union or the United States...) are territory, borders, population, a state administration, laws, etc.

Every thing and phenomenon represents dialectical unity between the particular and the general. The particular and the general cannot be separated, that is, there can be no general without the particular nor can there be any particular without the general. It is a mistake to only recognize the general (as the school of realism does) and a mistake to only recognize the particular (as the school of nominalism does). And, in our thinking as well as practical actions, placing sole emphasis upon the general leads to the mistake of dogmatism while placing sole emphasis upon the particular leads to the mistake of empiricism, even to revisionism...

The philosophical categories of the particular and the general are broad. I have only addressed a few basic points regarding these categories. And, I think that when we analyze an issue, we should attach importance to using and correctly distinguishing among philosophical concepts, political concepts, economic concepts and so forth because each type of these concepts has its own specific relevance.

Although Ha Phuong confuses political concepts with philosophical concepts, his zealous interest in the party's ideological work is appreciated. In this regard, Ha Phuong makes complete sense when he says that the particular interests of each of us must be subordinate to the general interests of society. This is what is worthy of applause in the author Ha Phuong.

Vu Hung

Comments of the Editorial Board of TAP CHI CONG SAN:

We endorse the opinions expressed by Vu Hung in the above letter.

We applaud Vu Hung for giving his attention to studying the article printed in TAP CHI CONG SAN and sending a letter expressing his opinions and observations.

Editorial Board
TAP CHI CONG SAN

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CSO: 4210/1

READERS' LETTERS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 86 p 92

[Text] Since the day it was founded, generations of we who live in the countryside have followed the party. Having lived through the two wars of resistance against France and the United States and now living in retirement, we still go to the fields to fight on the agricultural front.

In the old days, we peasants were illiterate and severely oppressed and exploited by colonialists and feudalists. In the wars, we contributed our utmost to the liberation of the country.

Since the day that our birthplace was liberated, we have worked hard and tried to produce much paddy and rice for society. Today, the face of the countryside has undergone many changes. However, at many places there is still a serious shortage of water conservancy projects, chemical fertilizer, pesticides and technical cadres. Management cadres are incompetent. The standard of living of farmers is still low and many persons lack food and medicine. Prices have soared, thus making life more difficult.

Meanwhile, the situation at many places is very confusing. Some cadres and party members are self-serving, are corrupt, are becoming wealthy by illegal means, are bureaucratic and arrogant, are arbitrary and dictatorial. They suppress the lower level and intimidate cooperative and collective members. They are tarnishing the prestige of the party, reducing the confidence of the masses and harming the cause of the revolution. Retaining these elements in the leadership apparata of the party and state is "asking for trouble." Yet, at many places, action is still not being taken against these elements in accordance with the party's Code of Discipline and the laws of the state. Are they being protected by some big umbrella?

If the party and state were to send persons to basic units to listen to the denunciations of these elements by the masses and then take appropriate actions against them, these corrosive elements would be removed and the confidence and enthusiasm of the masses would be strengthened.

At the same time, we also hope that the state will make appropriate investments in agriculture and create the conditions for raising the yield and output of grain and food products.

With attention by the party to purging degenerate and deviant elements, with increased investment by the state and with the efforts of farmers, we will certainly win victory on this front of foremost importance.

On behalf of a number of elderly
farmers in Long Phu Village, Tam Binh
District, Cuu Long Province

Nguyen Van De

7809
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THE NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN RECENT YEARS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 86 pp 93-98

[Article by Vu Quang]

[Text] Of the more than 170 countries in the world, the majority of the countries outside of the socialist countries and the roughly 20 developed capitalist countries are former colonial or dependent countries, now called "the developing countries," the "Third World" or "the newly independent countries." Examined from the standpoint of the role of these nations in the process of the struggle between the revolution and counter-revolution throughout the world, they comprise one of the great revolutionary forces of our times: the current of national liberation.

Encompassing more than 100 countries and a total population of more than 2 billion, this movement consists of countries of many different types. Some chose the path of socialist development after winning independence. Some have leaned toward capitalism and are, in actuality, falling into the trap of neocolonialism. "In form, these countries have political independence but, in practice, they have fallen into the net of financial and diplomatic dependence."(1) However, there is one feature that characterizes the entire movement, the aspiration of peoples and nations to be the masters of their own destiny, to be the masters of their natural resources and internal affairs. This legitimate aspiration stands directly in the way of the dream of imperialism to rule the world. It has reduced the scope of activity and threatens sources of raw materials that are vital to the economy of imperialism, sources which it once had the exclusive right to develop and exploit. These developing countries, which extend across the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America, account for a very high percentage of the important raw material reserves of the entire world, such as petroleum, copper, nickel, wolfram, uranium and so forth and such products as rubber, coffee, cocoa, tea... The developing countries occupy a strategic position in the scheme of imperialism to surround and attack the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. As a result, it can be said that the struggle being waged by the national liberation movement against imperialism has been and is threatening the very existence of capitalism. In recent years, history has witnessed attacks by the national liberation movement as part of the overall attack by the three currents of revolution, attacks directly on the strongholds of imperialism. Following the victory of Vietnam, a host of

Asian, African and Latin American countries have arisen in struggle and won victory, thereby forcing the imperialists themselves to call this the "post-Vietnam era" in order to give a name to the shrinking of their influence and the weakening of their strategic position on a global scale. With the comparison of forces in the world having changed to the advantage of socialism and the national liberation movement and the disadvantage of imperialism, collusion and cooperation among the oil producing countries in the Middle East are enough to destabilize and create difficulties for the entire capitalist world for a period of time. It is here--in the region of national liberation--that a bitter struggle is taking place between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution and antagonisms continue to exist between imperialism--headed by the United States--and the international and reactionary forces, on one side, and the nations struggling for political and economic independence, for national sovereignty, for the right to be the masters of their natural resources, on the other side. This struggle has the support and assistance of the socialist countries and all progressive forces in the world.

Faced with the danger of the scope of its activity being reduced and being cut off from sources of raw materials, imperialism--headed by the United States--in coordination with Chinese expansionism and hegemonism and other reactionary powers, has mounted an intense counter-attack against the national liberation movement. Their efforts have been directed mainly against the countries that are following the path to socialism. Their goal being to "win back ground that has been lost," they have been waging a combined political, economic, military, cultural and ideological counter-attack against revolutionary forces, emphasizing one factor or another depending upon the place, the time and the target.

In the case of countries that are on the path to socialism, their tactics have been to encircle these countries, to set up embargoes against them, to use regional reactionaries to harass them and exert military pressure against them while looking for every way to topple their administrations, including plots to assassinate and eliminate the leaders of these countries. When conditions have permitted, they have not hesitated to use military forces in direct aggression, as they did when they started the bloody wars of aggression in South Korea, Vietnam and Grenada.

In the case of countries following the capitalist path of development, their tactics are to employ neo-colonialism and infiltrate and control these countries through multi-national corporations. When social antagonisms in these countries become acute as a result of the working people beingseverely exploited and the struggle by the various strata of the people spreads and develops, they try to "defuse" the situation by removing corrupt lackeys from office, "changing horses in mid-stream" and carrying out "democratization" in a vain attempt to cause the struggle being waged by the people to lose its sense of direction and maintain their big country interests.

However, there is no selectivity in the use of measures against the national liberation movement. In practice, they have made combined and coordinated use of all these measures. This is why there have been times when the Reagan administration has taken a "hard line" but also times when it has given the appearance of "being concerned with democracy, with human rights," even though its nature and goals have not changed. Reagan's bellicose and aggressive nature was revealed at the time he was preparing to enter the White House in his line based on the report of the Sante Fe Commission(2) written in 1980. At the very outset, this commission confirmed for Reagan that "the United States is being attacked by the Soviet Union through the hands of Cuba; therefore, the United States must remedy the situation." The United States must use "direct sanctions" and, if these fail to meet the objective, must "launch a war of liberation against Fidel Castro." This commission also reported to Reagan that national liberation movements have arisen in various regions as a result of "external causes," of "instigation by the Soviet Union and communist countries," not as a result of social injustice, that is, internal causes. Throughout the 6 years of his presidency, Reagan has spoken and acted precisely along these lines. He has even gone much farther than the proposals made by this consultative commission. However, in actuality, the intense struggle being waged by the people of different countries against pro-U.S. dictatorial regimes has proven that there never has been any "external instigation." Numerous pro-U.S. militaristic, bourgeois regimes have collapsed or are in danger of collapsing. Even the people of the United States are not in favor of the U.S. administration's continuing support for hopelessly corrupt lackeys in various regions of the world. This fact has forced U.S. ruling circles to reconsider. Through debates within these circles, they have reached the conclusion that they must give attention to "internal causes" as well as "external causes" and deal with this revolutionary movement from behind the mask of "democratization," deal with it by means of increased economic "aid" and, lastly, by means of military measures. While the Reagan administration has raised a ruckus over "democracy" and "human rights," it has, in actuality, been forced to remove lackeys who have become evil to excess in order to disorient the struggle being waged by the people of various countries. This is what happened in the cases of the dictator Duvalier in Haiti and Marcos in the Philippines. Both were flown from their countries aboard U.S. military aircraft at the final moment, just as the intensifying struggle being waged by the people was about to explode. The U.S. administration is also preparing public opinion for the application of this policy to a number of other lackeys, such as Pinochet in Chile, Chun Doo Hwan in South Korea and Zia-ul-Haq in Pakistan, through Reagan's recent display of "anger" in his denunciation of "human rights violations" in Chile, South Korea and Pakistan.

The military exercises "Big Pine" in Latin America, "Golden Cobra" in Southeast Asia, "Team Spirit" in Northeast Asia...were a "show of force" designed to threaten and exert pressure on Nicaragua and the revolutionary movements in Latin America, on Afghanistan, India and the countries of Indochina. "Regional gendarmes," such as Israel and South Africa, as well as groups of bandits and counter-revolutionaries, such as the Contras in Latin America, UNITA in Africa, the "Khmer Rouge" in Cambodia and the bandits along the Afghanistan border, are all receiving "aid" and encouragement from the United States in order to harass the countries that man the frontline of the national liberation movement.

Clearly, the policy of tension, confrontation and counter-attacks against the national liberation movement that the U.S. imperialists have been pursuing since the first days of the Reagan administration has never changed, except to become more brazen, more brutal. The recent use of "human rights" as a pretext for replacing a number of lackeys, much like one "sacrifices a pawn," only proves how defensive and confused the state in which they are actually is.

Intertwined and coordinated with military actions, the U.S. imperialists have also made intense use of economic and financial measures, most notable the main instrument of neo-colonialism, the multi-national corporations. Indirectly controlling the economies of the newly independent countries by monopolizing the centers of trade and product marketing, through unfair trade, through so called "aid" with onerous terms...is how the U.S. imperialists impose the capitalist international division of labor upon independent countries that are leaning toward capitalism. In reality, the multi-national corporations are "states within a state" wherever they set up business. They exploit the resources and labor of host countries and intervene in their internal affairs. At present, there are more than 50,000 corporations of the multi-national corporations in the developing countries. They are some 50,000 tentacles of octopi, are the causes of the "coffee wars," "sugar wars," "oil price wars"...that have caused the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to lose billions of dollars. In recent years, they have used debts to destabilize the newly liberated countries, to pressure these countries into changing their policies and to cripple their economies, which are already experiencing many difficulties. The total debts of the Third World countries now stand at approximately 1 trillion dollars, of which the countries of Latin American owe nearly 400 billion dollars, the countries of Africa owe 200 billion dollars and the Arab countries owe more than 100 billion dollars. The Latin American countries must spend 53 percent of their income from exports just to pay the yearly interest on these debts and the "interest generates more interest," as a result of which the indebtedness of these countries has risen very rapidly.

In coordinating the measures taken against the national liberation movement, imperialism has not neglected to make use of theory and ideology or culture and information. They have adopted theories such as "mutual dependency" to conceal exploitation by neo-colonialism and the "rich countries, poor countries" theory to erase the differences between imperialism and the oppressed nations. In the face of the trend of our times, the trend of increasing cooperation between the socialist community and the countries of the liberation and national independence movements, the imperialists have advanced the theory of "standing between the two social systems" in a futile attempt to make the Soviet Union, which tirelessly struggles for peace, look like the United States, which is bellicose by nature, and vice versa and sever this natural relationship. They have also not neglected to use reactionary religious and church forces to prevent the newly independent nations from awakening and being enlightened.

In the Asia-Pacific region, the United States has also intensified the deployment of a vast counter-revolutionary plan. This is an important region of strategic significance, one which the U.S. imperialists are plotting ways to control so that they can encircle and attack the Soviet Union, the alliance of the three countries of Indochina and the community of socialist countries in two prongs from the east and the south. This is also a region rich in natural resources, a dynamic economic region that has a high rate of development, which the U.S. imperialists are seeking to control so that they can monopolize the exploitation and plundering of the region. Consequently, they have been making every effort to strengthen their military power and assemble forces, such as promoting the U.S.-Japan-South Korea alliance; making arrangements to strengthen ANZUS (the Untied States, Australia and New Zealand); tolerating and encouraging the acts of harassment of the reactionaries in South Korea, Thailand and Pakistan; and promoting the implementation of the Asia-Pacific strategy and the establishment of the "Pacific community," the nucleus of which are the United States and Japan. In its counter-revolutionary strategy in this region, the United States enjoys the effective collaboration of China. During his visit to the United States in January 1984, China`s premier Zhao Ziyang, clearly stated: "China and the United States have common interests in many of the most important issues in international life." If we strip away the flowery language and its fake "revolutionary" label, we see that China's policy toward the national liberation movement is essentially aimed at achieving two primary objectives. They are: achieving hegemony and becoming the leader of the movement and separating the movement from its natural relationship with the world socialist community. China has adopted very many slogans that pledge its support of the national liberation movement. But the entire world knows about the close relations between Beijing and the Pinochet clique in Chile and Zia ul-Haq in Pakistan, its secret military relations with the Israeli zionists, with leading reactionaries in Africa, such as Nimeiri in Sudan some years ago, with leaders of Somalia and Zaire. They officially hailed the Camp David Accords but are constantly voicing their "resolute support for the struggle of the Palestinians"! They have pledged to "take the side of the Arab people." Recently, however, Egypt reluctantly returned to Beijing tanks supplied to it by China because it was discovered that the guns on the tanks were manufactured by Israel!

During the past several years, despite the insane sabotage carried out by imperialism and the various types of international reactionaries, the liberation and national independence movements have continued to take strong strides down the path of development and have been playing an increasingly large role in the common struggle of all mankind for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Indicative of this is the fact that more and more nations have chosen the path of socialism or are leaning toward socialism. The peoples of these countries recognize that only by following the path of socialism can they maintain their national independence. With each day that passes, life is proving that although political independence has been won, the cause of national liberation has not ended. Political independence must be strengthened by economic independence. The cause of national liberation can only be viewed as complete and thorough when the exploiting classes have been abolished. These nations can choose only one of two paths, either to "continue to be the rear area of imperialism" or to "develop along the path of progress and socialism." There is no third path.

Reality has proven that the national factor is never negated when development takes the path of socialism. To the contrary, this is the best way to protect the basic interests as well as the particular interests of every nation.

Combining national independence and socialism in a way that is well balanced is a solid guarantee of development, as has been verified in many countries, including Vietnam. It cannot be denied that countries developing toward socialism often encounter very many difficulties and obstacles along their way as a result of the serious consequences of centuries of oppression and exploitation, economic poverty and backwardness, a lack of experience in managing and building the new society and bitter opposition by imperialist and reactionary powers. However, with the wholehearted assistance of the socialist countries, these countries have proven that only by following the path of progress and socialism can they maintain and strengthen their countries' political independence.

Even the powerful development of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries itself is a form of tremendous support and assistance to the national liberation and national independence movements, because it is an exceedingly important factor in the collapse of neo-colonialism and in stimulating the progressive development of newly independent countries. Their own experience teaches these countries that the socialist community is their natural ally. According to incomplete data, the member countries of CEMA have helped the countries developing toward socialism and a number of other countries to build more than 3,500 industrial projects, 1,500 agricultural projects, power plants with a total capacity of more than 23 million kw and enterprises with a total output of 30 million tons of steel and 50 million tons of crude oil per year. Also as a result of this assistance, the newly independent countries have trained nearly 2 million specialists, skilled workers, engineers, doctors and so forth. Besides kinds of support that can be expressed in the form of statistics, there have also been priceless political, military and diplomatic support and assistance, even support and assistance in the form of flesh and blood: the volunteer forces of the Soviet Union who have sacrificed their lives for the cause of the Afghanistan people, the Cuban soldiers who have laid down their lives for the revolutions of Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia and the Vietnamese volunteer forces in Laos and Cambodia. In addition, countless specialists of other socialist countries are wholeheartedly assisting newly independent countries. These are specific examples of pure socialist internationalism and have made important contributions to the growth of young nations determined to move in the direction of socialism.

In recent years, as one of the currents of revolution of our times, the national liberation movement has made tremendous contributions to the common struggle of mankind. Although there are still many difficulties, even temporary setbacks at certain places and times, the strong forward trend of the movement is clear and cannot be impeded. Together with the socialist countries, with the struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries and the struggle against the arms race and for world peace, the national liberation and national independence movements will surely win increasingly large victories.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1980, Volume 27, p 485.

2. This commission was a consultative organization that consisted of leading financiers and specialists and had the task of formulating policy for presidential candidate Reagan. It took its name from the place where its founding conference was held, the city of Santa Fe in the state of New Mexico, United States of America.

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THE TRENDS IN THE REVAMPING OF THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM IN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 86 pp 99-106

[Article by Vo Dai]

[Text] Revamping the economic mechanism is a universal trend in the fraternal socialist countries. In the Political Report at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the Party Central Committee, stated: "We are facing the most serious reform of the socialist economic mechanism ever." At the recent congresses of the communist parties of a number of other socialist countries, this issue was also stressed. Actually, it was in the late 1960's that economic reform began to be carried out in one socialist country after another to varying degrees, in varying scales and by different methods. However, regardless of what their differences might have been, all these reforms shared common foundations: they were under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party; shared the common goal of building communism; were based on a system of socialist ownership of the means of production; were based on consciously applying objective laws and complying with socialist economic management principles, etc. It is upon these common foundations that trends of a common nature in revamping the economic mechanism have emerged and steadily grown. This article will present these common trends.

The question that arises is: what have been the bases underlying the process of revamping the economic mechanism in the socialist countries?

Most importantly, consideration must be given to the development of economic theory, which is seen as a process of revising economic thinking now underway in the socialist countries. It must be acknowledged that important changes have occurred in the field of economic thinking in recent years. We have gone from asserting that the Soviet Union had finished building developed socialism and was making the transition to communism to acknowledging that the Soviet Union is in the initial stage of developed socialism; from placing sole emphasis upon the role of the state-operated economy and the collective economy to acknowledging and encouraging the development of small-scale, private production and the household economy to some extent to augment the state-operated economy and the collective economy; from placing sole emphasis upon central planning and orders to acknowledging and broadening the independence of enterprise; from rejecting commodity-money relations in the production of the means of production to acknowledging them; from rejecting the role and impact of the law of supply and demand in economic life to acknowledging them, etc. The above changes have truly provided important theoretical bases for economic reform in the socialist countries.

On the other hand, the actual economic conditions of the socialist countries also underwent important changes in the mid-1960's. For example, the factors of development in breadth became exhausted at a time when the factors of development in depth were not exerting an impact, consequently, production costs rose across the board, thereby causing low returns from production and a reduced rate of growth. The economies of the socialist countries had reached a scale of development many times larger than ever before and reached a very high level of technological development. Overseas economic relations had undergone extraordinary development, etc. These changes, from the standpoint of both theory and practice, rendered the economic mechanism now in place within the socialist countries unsuitable. "The current forms of production relations and business management policies came into being, for the most part, under the conditions of economic development in breadth. They have gradually become outmoded and begun to lose their role as incentives to, and in some respects, impede, further development."(1)

Thus, what kind of new economic mechanism is compatible with the changes that have occurred in theory as well as practice? From the proceedings of the recent congresses of the fraternal parties, we can see that the new economic mechanism in the fraternal socialist countries exhibits the following primary features:

It maintains the planning of the national economy while making vigorous use of the relationships between goods and money and the market. It increases the effectiveness and efficiency of central leadership while increasing the independence and business autonomy of the basic units. It insures unity among the interests of the individual, the collective and all the people. It brings about a strong change in the use of economic measures while still giving attention to the correct use of administrative measures. It intensifies centralization, specialization and federation in the process of reorganizing the production apparatus. In view of these special features, the new economic mechanism is mainly designed to increase the efficiency and quality of production and promote the following basic trends:

I. Shifting from a Mechanism Based Primarily on the Use of Administrative Measures and Orders to a Mechanism That Makes Increasing Use of Economic Measures

During and prior to the 1960's, orders of many different forms were handed down from the upper level to basic production units. Hundreds of legally binding norms, thousands of plan quotas and all prices were determined by the central level and very many directives and resolutions were issued to basic production units by the upper levels. Virtually the only right that basic business units had was to implement these directives and orders. And, if they wanted to change something unsuitable, they would have to request a directive from the upper level and wait for a long time for a new order.

It must be acknowledged that, in more than a few cases, administrative measures and orders are totally unnecessary in the leadership of the economy. However, once these orders became the basic mode of the economic mechanism, major limitations emerged.

The first limitation was that the promulgation of so many orders to determine the operations of all basic production units exceeded the capabilities of the agencies issuing orders, even though the number of cadres at these agencies increased. The difficulty encountered here was that there were, within a single country, very many basic production units. Their operating conditions were very diverse and very different and their business situations changed daily. As a result, leadership agencies on the upper levels found it difficult to control everything. Shortly after they were issued, orders and directives were no longer suited to conditions because conditions had changed. Therefore, the legally binding norms assigned by the upper levels were usually inaccurate and had to be constantly adjusted. Directives and orders intervened deeply in the business operations of basic units and became an obstacle to the operations of basic units when they were not consistent with practice.

Secondly, while basic business units knew their conditions and potentials better than anyone else and bore the greatest material and spiritual responsibility for the operations of their units, they did not have the authority to make any decisions. As a result, this mechanism impeded the ability of basic units to display initiative and creativity, to exercise independence and autonomy in their business and to effectively and flexibly respond to the situation.

Thirdly, this mechanism did not closely tie authority to material responsibility. The agencies and persons authorized to issue orders bore absolutely no material responsibility whatsoever for the consequences of these orders. These consequences were directly borne by the basic units and the state. For example, when the legal norms assigned by the upper level were incorrect, they harmed the interests of the enterprise and the state but the agencies that formulated these norms bore no material responsibility at all. Or, if a pricing agency, which required everyone in the country to comply with price discipline as law, set a price incorrectly, the interests of producers and consumers were affected first but the interests of the pricing agency were not affected at all. This explains the bureaucracy and irresponsibility that occurred in the process of issuing orders and directives.

Since the 1970's, as a result of the above mentioned limitations, the socialist countries have, generally speaking, gradually moved in the direction of reducing the use of administrative measures and orders and gradually increasing the use of economic measures within the economic mechanism.

Legally binding norms assigned by the upper level have been reduced in number or eliminated. The universal situation found in the socialist countries today is that the number of legally binding norms assigned by the upper level to basic units has been reduced (to roughly 10 norms). The Platform of the 13th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party (1986) states: "A gradual shift must be made from planning by means of regulations through norms to planning by means of quotas." In Hungary, legally binding norms assigned by the upper level have, generally speaking, been eliminated. State agencies continue to provide unified leadership of the national economy as they did before, but they do so by means of economic measures, not primarily by means of orders and directives as they formerly did. The number of legally binding norms that remains is not large and these norms are selected on the basis of shifting the focus of norms from volume and output to quality and efficiency.

Central agencies have increasingly shifted away from issuing administrative orders and directives and have focused their efforts on formulating development strategy and economic policies and inspecting and supervising their implementation. This shift in direction is of major importance. Whereas, in past years, the full efforts of central agencies were absorbed in the issuing of orders and directives and very many other daily administrative chores and they seem to have very little time to give their attention to formulating strategy and policies and inspecting their implementation, now, they have been liberated and have time to concentrate on this work. The 27th Congress of the CPSU asserted that it is first of all necessary to reorganize the State Planning Commission as a true economic science staff of the country. Since the 1970's the formulation of development strategy has been increasingly promoted in the socialist countries. Programs for the development of the production of food products, raw materials, fuels, consumer goods and so forth have been prepared and implemented in many socialist countries. Inspections and supervision are being emphasized and central agencies have truly turned their hands to this work, as a result increasingly clear standards have been established for evaluating the business operations of enterprises. Whereas, in past years, the operations of enterprises were evaluated primarily on the basis of the volume of products delivered to the state, now, increasing attention is being given to the standard of efficiency. In Bulgaria and Hungary, these standards are profits; in Czechoslovakia, it is net product computed as (c1+v+m)(2); in the GDR, they are profits and net product.

The change of direction in the operations of the central agencies commands that basic business units also change the direction of their operations accordingly.

The authority of basic units has been steadily broadened and their business independence and autonomy have also been steadily increased. Whereas, in past years, basic business units only had the authority to implement orders handed down from above, in recent years, they have acquired authority in many other areas: the authority to formulate the business plan of the enterprise and the authority to decide this plan; the authority to set up enterprise funds; the authority to expand production; the authority to set a number of product prices on the basis of state price policy; and the authority to increase or decrease its work force. In some countries, they also have the authority to *directly participate in foreign trade* activities. In Bulgaria and Hungary, they even have the authority to elect the enterprise leadership board and director. The Soviet Union is also addressing the matter of electing enterprise directors.

In the majority of the socialist countries today, on the basis of the legally binding norms assigned by the upper level (which have been reduced in number), basic business units formulate and decide their own plans. Here, although few in number, legally binding norms continue to play the role of setting the business guidelines of basic units. The business autonomy of basic units, although broadened, still lies within the scope of the business guidelines decided by the upper level. For example, in Hungary, the state only sets the guidelines for the strategic development of the national economy and establishes leverage policies. The business development plans of basic units are decided entirely by the collectives of enterprises. In this case, the business independence of basic units is greater. Unlike previously, basic units no longer need to conduct their business in accordance with orders from the upper level. They have the soul authority to select and decide their business plan and operate in accordance with the general strategic guidelines for the economy set by the central level. The reduction of the number of tasks assigned by the upper level to a minimum has opened large capabilities for tapping the initiative and creativity of the worker at the basic unit and expanding the autonomy of the enterprise.

Reflecting this spirit, the 27th Congress of the CPSU set the basic guidelines for reorganizing the economic mechanism as: "It is necessary to increase the effectiveness of central management and increase the role of central agencies in implementing the main targets of the party's economic strategy, in setting a rational rate and rational ratios of development for the national economy and in establishing its balance. At the same time, it is necessary to stop the intervention by central agencies in the daily business operations of basic units... Determined steps must be taken to broaden the autonomy of federations and enterprises... A shift must be made to leadership by means of economic measures on all levels of the national economy..."(3) "...Directives, not even the most correct directives, can be used in place of the creativity of the masses. The reorganization will bring about the strong development of the creativity and autonomy of worker collectives and all cadres. The present situation does not permit us to resolve each and every problem on the central level... Everyone must clearly understand this fact. The worker collectives of enterprises and federated enterprises must assume the major portion of the responsibility for resolving everyday problems."(4)

II. Shifting from the Mechanism Based on State Subsidies to a Mechanism That Makes Full Use of the Relationships Between Goods and Money

The salient features of the mechanism based on state subsidies are the following:

The central state is responsible for allocating fixed capital and the major portion of liquid capital to basic enterprises; supplying raw materials, fuels, secondary materials, machinery, equipment and spare parts; paying salaries and wages to the cadres, manual workers and civil servants of the enterprise in accordance with their level of training and skill; providing social welfare services to each member of society, such as free education, free medical care, etc.

Enterprises must deliver all products produced to the state, turn over to the state practically all profits earned, depreciation funds, etc.

The prices of means of production, means of consumption and services are directly computed and set by the State Price Commission. These prices remain stable over a period of many years and are usually not tied to value and the relationship between supply and demand.

Enterprises are assigned plan norms by the upper levels and are provided by the upper levels with a full supply of machinery, equipment and technical materials at very low prices... All products produced, regardless of their quality, are accepted by the state. Losses are subsidized by the state. Profits are turned over to the state... This is the business situation that existed during and prior to the 1960's. While its limitations were evident to some extent, they were not, generally speaking, clear or serious because, at that time, many favorable conditions still existed for economic development. Generally speaking, each enterprise operated on the basis of orders from the upper levels, provided that it was fully supplied with materials and equipment and delivered all products to the state.

However, in the 1980's, the situation has changed. As a result of economic difficulties, the state has been increasingly unable to provide a full supply of equipment and technical materials at low prices, particularly in the case of countries that must import technical materials. This has meant that enterprises have not had all the conditions needed to implement the legally binding norms assigned to them. In many cases, they have suffered losses because the prices of imported raw materials and fuels have risen sharply. The mechanism based on subsidization failed to overcome these difficulties and has increasingly shown itself to be incompatible with the new conditions that exist. The major limitation of this mechanism in the face of the new situation is that it imposes restraints upon the impact and development of the relationship between goods and money. These restraints take the following forms:

Prices are directly calculated and set by state agencies and remain fixed over a period of many years, even though the conditions that underlie the formation of prices have changed. Since the 1960's, the expenditure of social labor in the production of goods has increased each year. There has been movement toward balance between supply and demand and supply has even exceeded the demand for traditional products. However, for high quality goods, demand has usually exceeded supply. Changes in currency exchange rates in the world have had an impact upon the value of each country's currency. The use value of goods has been increased, although slowly... Of these conditions, most deserving of attention is the fact that the expenditure of labor in the production of goods has been increasing due to rising raw material and fuel production costs, especially the price of oil, which has soared, and increases in the wages and salaries of workers and civil servants. In more than a few cases, production costs have risen to levels higher than the prices set by the state. The immediate consequence was a need for the state to subsidize losses. However, even more serious is the fact that prices have not correctly reflected value or the conditions that underlie prices and, as a result, ceased to be a form of value. On the other hand, state price agencies cannot directly set accurate prices for tens of thousands of products when the conditions underlying the formation of products are constantly changing. Although these agencies decide prices, they bear no material responsibility for their decisions. Whether prices are high or low in no way affects their interests, only the interests of the producer and the consumer.

"Supply allotments," "financial allocations" and "product deliveries" are the characteristic mode of the mechanism based on state subsidies. Under this mode, means of production do not move as goods because trade here is not based on price parity, rather, it is usually carried out at prices that lie below value. The various types of capital do not move as values, with loans and the repayment of loans, with principal and interest, but exist in the form of allocations and only the state recovers capital that is advanced, which it does in the forms of depreciation and payments to the budget. Products produced do not move as goods through true trade, but move as products that must be delivered to the state...

As the entities that deliver products, enterprises look for every way to reduce the quantity of products that must be delivered to the state. Because, if an enterprise receives many supplies and large funds but must only deliver a few products, it can retain a portion of the products it produces in order to distribute them internally or sell them at negotiated prices for a profit. This is how primary products become secondary products, rejected products... In the face of pressure from enterprises, agencies and cadres who have the authority to "allocate," "allot" and "take delivery" use their authority to the fullest extent possible and, as a result, bureaucracy and authoritarian arise.

It is because of the negative consequences described above that the socialist countries have been gradually dismantling the mechanism based on state subsidies and moving in the following major directions:

Price policy has been revamped in the direction of adjusting prices to bring them in line with the conditions underlying their formation. Generally speaking, there are two types of prices in the socialist countries today: prices set by the state and prices set by business enterprises and consumers.

Among the prices set by the state are prices that are set directly by the state and prices that are set indirectly by the state. The number of types of goods for which the state directly sets prices is gradually decreasing and the number of types for which it indirectly sets prices is increasing. There are also types of products for which the state only sets the highest and lowest prices.

The prices set by the producer and the consumer consist of:

Contract prices, which are negotiated prices recorded in a contract signed between the buyer and the seller and which remain in effect for the length of time stipulated in the contract.

Free prices, which are also a type of negotiated prices between the buyer and the seller but are not recorded in contracts and are only temporary.

The two types of prices mentioned above are closely interrelated. The prices set by the state are always the basis, the framework controlling and determining the movement of flexible prices. At the same time, flexible prices are the most sensitive barometer of pricing conditions and changes in business and production conditions. As a result, the state and enterprises can obtain relatively accurate information with which to evaluate the business and production situation and adjust established prices accordingly. In some socialist countries, such as Hungary, Bulgaria and Poland, there is a move toward reducing the number of prices set directly by the state and increasing the number of flexible prices. In Hungary, in 1980, the state only set 18 percent of the prices in industry. The remaining 82 percent were flexible prices.

One important measure in dismantling the mechanism based on state subsidies is to shift from financial allocations to the use of credit, from supply allotments and product deliveries to the commercialization of these relations.

Whereas practically all of the fixed and liquid capital of enterprises was once allocated by the state, today, enterprises must borrow the majority of this capital from the bank at interest rates that encourage them to use it in an efficient manner, to turn their capital over quickly and not allow it to become tied up. Whereas materials were once supplied by the state at low prices,today, enterprises have the authority, in many cases, to directly sign contracts for the procurement and sale of materials and equipment at negotiated prices. Whereas the products produced by enterprises once had to be directly delivered to the Ministry of Supply or the Ministry of Commerce, today, enterprises have the authority to directly sell products to other enterprises at contract prices. The important change here is that commodity trade based on true price parity allows the producer and the consumer to participate in the process of circulation with the full status of buyer and seller. The movement of the value of goods together with circulation and storage costs are reduced.

III. Revamping the Apparatus of Management Organizations Along Lines That Reduce the Number of Intermediary Echelons and Leadership Levels and Reorganizing Basic Units on the Basis of Centralization, Specialization, Cooperation and Federation

The shift from the economic mechanism based on administrative management, orders and state subsidies to a new mechanism demands that the apparatus of management organizations be reorganized accordingly.

Most importantly, the number of intermediary echelons and leadership levels has been reduced and the functions of leadership agencies have been changed.

The economic leadership system previously consisted of three to four levels (the ministries, general departments and enterprises), not including the various levels of local administrations. As a result of this multi-level system, information received from the lower levels was inaccurate and the orders handed down by the upper levels were ineffective. Consequently, the common trendin the socialist countries has been to reduce the number of intermediary levels. At the same time, the ministries have steadily cut back on the issuing of orders and intensified their activities in the areas of shaping the strategy for the development of their sector and inspecting and supervising the implementation of economic policies. With this shift in the focus of activities, many ministries began to duplicate one another's work. As a result, mergers have occurred among ministries. In the Soviet Union, six ministries related to agricultural production were merged to establish the Agro-Industrial Commission. In Hungary, six industrial ministries have been merged into one Ministry of Industry. In a number of other countries, the Ministries of Agriculture, Water Conservancy and the Food Products Industry have been merged to form the Ministry of Food... The local administrations, which previously undertook the work of providing administrative management and economic management, now, generally speaking, only provide administrative management and manage the service sectors that support the needs of the locality. The production sectors, generally speaking, are managed entirely by the specialized ministries.

Secondly, basic units have been reorganized on the basis of specialization, cooperation, centralization and federation, specifically:

Vertical production federations have been established, that is, related enterprises within the same sector have been merged. For example, a federation of textile enterprises consists of spinning, dyeing, weaving and other enterprises. This form of organization is currently widespread in the socialist countries.

Horizontal federations have also been organized, that is, enterprises belonging to different sectors have been merged within one federation consisting of scientific research and developmental research agencies and facilities, design and test manufacture organizations, construction and assembly units, production units, efficiency units, supply enterprises, enterprises manufacturing finished products, agencies marketing goods on domestic and world markets... This form of federation is presently widespread in the GDR.

In many cases, the trend toward expanding the scale of basic units has led to one basic unit encompassing the entire sector and one federation monopolizing the business in a certain type of product.

The large scale of federations has produced a number of advantages. It has created large potentials in terms of capital, materials, technology, management cadres and so forth which make it possible to improve the business operations of enterprises and increase their production efficiency. However, the monopoly exercised by many federations in both procurements and sales led to more than a few negative phenomena: price gouging, pressure to accept lower procurement prices, the failure to give attention to technological improvements, to improving product quality and so forth. For this reason, in recent years, a new trend has emerged in Hungary and Bulgaria, namely, disbanding large trusts and dividing them into medium and small-scale enterprises that do business within the same sector in order to break the monopoly of a product by a federation and create a wholesome atmosphere of competition among enterprises.

In addition to the major trends in the revamping of the economic mechanism presented above, other important changes are occurring, such as providing incentive for the development of the household economy and small-scale, private production and improving the education, legal and other systems to support the revamping of the economic mechanism. However, there is one exceedingly important issue to which the socialist countries have given very much attention and which they consider to be the premise for the entire process of revamping the economy, namely, the issue of training, selecting and recruiting a corps of cadres, from research cadres, policy makers and coordinators to enterprise directors. The new economic mechanism demands a corps of cadres who are well suited to it.

FOOTNOTES

1. M.S. Gorbachev: "Political Report at the 27th Congress of the CPSU."

2. c1 is the depreciation of fixed assets.

3. IZVESTIA Newspaper (Soviet Union), 26 February 1986.

4. M.S. Gorbachev: "Speech at the 16 June 1986 plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU," NHAN DAN Newspaper, 22 June 1986.

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NATIONAL PARTY REELECTED IN QUEENSLAND

'Disaster' for ALP

BK020736 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0430 GMT 2 Nov 86

[Text] Queensland voters have reelected Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen and his National Party Government for another 3 years. With 6 seats still in doubt, the Nationals took 46 seats in the 89-seat State Parliament with the Labor Party gaining 27 seats and the Liberals 10. In claiming victory, Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen predicted that the result in Queensland would flow across the nation, saying he would begin his (?assault) on Canberra immediately.

He said the Nationals had government despite the odds while there had been a 2-percent swing against the Labor Party. The Queensland premier said he would continue to offer a strong, stable government, and he dismissed the inaccuracies in the opinion pool.

Both the Liberal and Labor Parliamentary leaders have blamed their performances on the Queensland electoral system. The Labor lader, Mr (Wobberton), says the electoral gerrymander made it almost impossible for the ALP [Australian Labor Party] to gain office.

In the election, the Nationals gained 39 percent of the vote, Labor 42 percent, and the Liberal Party 16 percent.

Both the prime minister, Mr Hawke, and federal opposition leader, Mr Howard, have congratulated the National Party on its election victory. Mr Hawke said he was pleased with Labor's election campaign and claimed the ALP had held its ground. However, Mr Howard described the poll result as a disaster for the Labor Party and said it was the only party which could not draw any comfort from the election.

Democrats Allege Gerrymander

BK020738 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0430 GMT 2 Nov 86

[Text] The Queensland election result has been described by the Australian Democrats as a national disgrace and a perversion of democracy. Australian Democrat, Senator Michael Mackline, said the National Party had been assured of victory last year because of the redistribution and the further entrenchment of the state electoral gerrymander. The National Party looked as though it would secure 53 percent of the seats with only 39 percent of the primary vote.

Senator Mackline said the National Party was well placed to further refine the gerrymander before the next state election. He said yesterday's poll results clearly showed that the only way the gerrymander could ever be beaten was by federal intervention.

Radio Australia's Sydney office says a one-vote one-value bill to dismantle the Queensland and West Australian electoral gerrymanders has already been introduced in federal parliament by Senator Mackline. It is at present the subject of an inquiry by the Federal Parlimentary Joint Select Committee on Electoral Reform.

/9599
CSO: 4200/118

BRIEFS

INCREASE IN INFLATION RATE--There has been a jump in the cost of living with Australia's annual inflation rate rising to 8.9 percent. Figures just released show that in the 3 months to September, the consumer price index [CPI] increased by 2.6 percent--the biggest quarterly rise in 2 years. Increases in the price of petrol and the costs of fresh fruits and vegetables have played a big part in the CPI rise. Today's figures give a national inflation rate well above the federal budget prediction of 8 percent. Nevertheless, the treasurer, Mr Keating, says inflation will go down. [Excerpt] [Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0830 GMT 23 Oct 86 BK] /9599

CHANGES TO FRINGE BENEFIT TAX--The prime minister, Mr Hawke, has defended his government's amendments to the fringe benefit tax, saying they will be applauded by the average taxpayer. The changes annouced yesterday include the removal of the requirement of continuous filling in of car log books, increased concession for remote area housing, and the exemption of minor benefits such as late night taxi fares. Speaking in Adelaide, the prime minister said there had originally been some unintended consequences of the tax. He said the changes eliminated these anomalies while keeping to the principle of taxing noncash income which was previously untaxed. However, the federal opposition, farmers, and business groups had condemned the changes as inadequate. [Excerpt] [Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0430 GMT 30 Oct 86] /9599

HAWKE CRITICIZES TRADE BARRIERS--The prime minister, Mr Hawke, has launched another strong attack on barriers to free world trade. Speaking at a Trade Law Conference in Canberra, Mr Hawke said international laws on fair trading were being bent, manipulated, and broken, threatening the viability of the world trading system. He said some governments had sacrificed the flow of free trade by increasing domestic price support for commodities and export subsidy programs. The prime minister singled out the European Community and the United States, saying the EC was channeling U.S. $1,000 million into price support and subsidies for agriculture. However, Mr Hawke said there was now increased retaliation by other countries. He said a growing realization of the futility of trade conflicts appeared to have been the reason to launch a new round of multilateral trade negotiations. Recently, Mr Hawke criticized the agricultural subsidy policies of the European Community and America during a meeting of 14 fair trade nations at Cairns in northern Queensland. [Text] [Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0830 GMT 3 Nov 86] /9599

CSO: 4200/118

PHOUMI VONGVICHIT GREETS UNESCO ANNIVERSARY

OW051223 Vientiane KPL in English 0910 GMT 5 Nov 86

[Text] Vientiane, 5 November (KPL)--The acting president of the Lao PDR, Phoumi Vongvichit, on 3 November sent a message to the director general of the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), greeting its 40th founding anniversary.

The message says:

"On behalf of the government of the Lao PDR, the Lao people, and on my own behalf, I would like to express to you my warmest congratulations.

"Throughout its 40 years of existence, UNESCO has always been faithful to its ideal of struggling for peace, safeguarding and promoting the cultural legacy of humankind and promoting scientific and technical progress. Several programmes, plans and operational projects concerning various domains of worldwide importance such as international cooperation as the basis of peace, the campaign of illiteracy eradication, the elimination of colonialism and racism, and the promotion of a new international information order, have given UNESCO rich experiences in promoting culture, science, and techniques for the wellbeing of all peoples without any distinction."

The message continues:

"By constantly following these aims, UNESCO has become a symbol of confidence in a prosperous future of all progressive and civilized nations. Its prestige has been constantly enhanced in the international arena. However, it is regrettable that some countries are not ready to admit these facts and are trying to downgrade them.

"By following a foreign policy of peace, independence, friendship and socialism, the Lao PDR, as a full member of the organization, firmly supports the role played by UNESCO and is actively continuing to cooperate with it so that the great and noble ideals of humankind such as equality, justice and friendship among peoples may firmly take roots in the spiritual life of humankind, including the Lao people.

"In celebration of UNESCO's founding anniversary, I would like to inform you that the Lao PDR has organised a solemn meeting and other cultural activities in its honour in order to express our people's appreciation of the role and prestige of UNESCO as well as its achievements."

The message finally concludes:

"We wish UNESCO great success in carrying out its noble tasks while approaching the threshold of the 21st Century in an atmosphere of peace, confidence and mutual respect. Please accept, Mr Director General, the assurances of my highest considerations."

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CSO: 4200/114

FISHERY DIRECTOR LAUDS NEW U.S. DEAL

HK300345 Auckland THE NEW ZEALAND HERALD in English 25 Oct 86 p 12

[Text] Major improvements in Pacific Island relations will result from the new tuna fisheries agreement with the United States, according to the director of the Forum Fisheries Agency, Dr Philipp Muller.

"It has also made the bureaucrats and legislators in Washington aware of the Pacific," he said in Honiara yesterday.

"Before this happened we were insignificant and of no consequence as far as the United States was concerned."

He said the deal--settled in Nuku'alofa this week but still to be ratified--still left the door open for Russian involvement because the United States did not secure any exclusive arrangements.

Under the deal, the United States will get a fraction of the total catches available. It can take 4,000 tonnes of fish a vessel and licences will be provided for up to 35 fishing boats.

"We have a huge resource in this region. Scientific estimates say there are 3 million tonnes of standing stock and you can take 20 percent of that a month," said Dr Muller.

Vanuatu was still negotiating a fishing deal with the Soviet Union and there was nothing to stop the Russians taking out the standard fishing licences offered by Papua New Guinea to all foreign fishing licences.

"I think we shall have to wait and see how they do with Vanuatu first before we can tell if the Russians will continue. Kiribati is driving a particularly hard bargain with them at the moment--right to the limits."

He said the Russians lacked the right technique for purse seining.

"Purse seine nets have to go down very fast to the thermocline, into the cold water, so that the tuna cannot escape underneath."

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CSO: 4200/119

TRADE MINISTER URGES CER EXPANSION TO U.S., CANADA

HK310421 Wellington THE EVENING POST in English 28 Oct 86 p 6

["Weekwatch" column by political correspondent Tony Garnier: "Trading Future Australian Links"]

[Text] An event of capital importance to Australia may soon force New Zealand along another new and challenging path.

The clue comes from Overseas Trade Minister Mike Moore, who disclosed last week that he had been briefed by Canberra on an Australian study on closer economic relations [CER] with the United States.

It was important to know what Australia was doing, he said, "as we don't want to wake up one morning in 10 years' time and find Australia and the United States have made a CER agreement."

He didn't believe it would happen. New Zealand's relations with Australia at the moment were in a strong phase. But New Zealand needed to start preparing new options to secure its trading future, he suggested.

One of the options was to expand CER to include the United States and Canada.

Mr Moore made his comments in his Beehive office while talking over beer and sandwiches, with a few press gallery journalists. The occasion was the release of a pamphlet, "Securing New Zealand's Trading Future," prepared by the Trade and Industry Department. It was the usual dry, old stuff; pages of "where we are," "the future," and an appendix.

The initial reaction was to put it on the pile of hundreds of other handouts that pour out of Wellington's bureaucracy and to categorise the minister's comments as typical Mike Moore enthusiasm.

For months, indeed years, he has urged New Zealanders to adopt a "wider vision of the needs of the region." In 1982, for example, he suggested CER with Australia should be widened to a South Pacific economic community and a Pacific Parliament should be set up as the community's "political father."

Four years on, and the idea has not been advanced one jot.

So what realistic prospect was there of an expanded CER to include the likes of the United States and Canada? To work, both countries would have to remove tariff barriers against us, and there is like sign of either doing that.

But a check with history suggests there may be more to this idea than we yet know about. Ten years ago, who would have thought that New Zealand would have struck a CER treaty with Australia, that trade would have reversed to be in New Zealand's favour, our financiers would be buying large chunks of Aussie real estate, and our business would be tuned to such a pich the America's Cup was within grasp.

In 1976, the year of genesis for CER, the only public awareness on a treaty looming up was buried in an economic and social planning report, "New Zealand At the Turning Point."

The report, sent to the then Overseas Trade Minister (in his role as National Development Minister) Brian Talboys by committee Chairman Sir Frank Holmes, suggested there was a need to revitalise a practical working partnership across the Tasman. It was hardly headline news.

And, little happened in public until 1979, when Australia's Overseas Trade Minister Doug Anthony and New Zealand's Trade Minister Hugh Templeton disclosed, simultaneously, that both countries were independently examining options for closer economic unions. "It was a gradual exercise. No one should panic," said Mr Templeton.

No one did panic. CER, long hoped for and anticipated by a few enthusiasts, was indefinitely retarded by the jealousy of some and the indifference of others. There were fears that New Zealand would lose sovereignty, that traders would not be able to meet the Australian competition, and calls to draw back from taking such a decisive step.

Relations between New Zealand Australia have never been easy. New Zealand's dealings have always been marked by distrust and reserve. Australians traditionally project an indifference, and transtasman political leaders have traditionally adopted a standoff approach to each other; conservative Olyoake-Menzies, Labour's Kirk-Whitlam, conservatives Muldoon-Fraser, and Labour's Lange-Hawke can hardly be claimed to be political mates. Unlike other Western political neighbours, they do not even have an annual summit. Hawke has not yet found time (inclination?) to visit Wellington.

Yet CER became a treaty in 1982, and the joint communique at a transtasman trade ministers' meeting in Canberra last year emphasised that the agreement was "outward-looking and established a basis from which the closer economic relationship could be further developed to the benefit of both countries and the region."

Since when, Mr Moore said on a number of occasions that he is keen to see it enlarged. "We are putting a major effort into the intellectual concepts of 'beyond CER' and our wider Pacific ambitions," he told a Christchurch audience of political scientists and economists recently.

"The questions are: Should New Zealand be looking elsewhere for CER-like trading relationship? If so, should we be examining them jointly with Australia?"

Frankly, yes. Otherwise the agreement with Australia that CER was "outward-looking" becomes meaningless.

Mr Moore admits to having been briefed by the Australians on their study on a CER with the United States but said he had not seen it. Implicit in his remarks was the need for New Zealand to be on its guard.

It was inconceivable for New Zealand to move into a beyond-CER agreement without the Australians; it was conceivable that New Zealand, a junior partner, could be led by the force of circumstances (the will of Canberra?) to join an expanded CER linking the United States of America and Canada.

The United States of America and Canada are considering establishing their own CER agreement, a prospect which should not be seen as a threat, it is claimed in the trade and industry booklet released last week. Rather, the linking together of different CER-like arrangements, Aussie-NZ, Canada-United States of America, was a possible path for securing New Zealand's trading future, it is suggested.

In short, amazing as it may seem, the idea of an expanded CER to include the United States of America and Canada seems to be under serious consideration already. From New Zealand's standpoint, it is an amazing development given the state of defence relations with both countries.

New Zealand is in a defence vacuum at the moment. Our foreign policy has us in an alliance with the United States in conventional terms, but the United States does not accept that.

We are supposedly on the verge of strengthening conventional defence ties with Australia (i.e., submitting to its demands in terms of equipment, training, and in other respect?). But there are large problems with that too, it has recently been claimed.

Australia may be considering a CER-like relationship with the United States of America (and Canada?), but if New Zealand does not soon sort out a consistent world view and foreign policy, it would not surprise to see us forced to submit to Australia's will or retreat, as we did early this century when the chance for a Federation with Australia was offered, back into our Pacific/Polynesian isolation.

The difference with the United States over nuclear policy produced speculation that the United States of America would take trade measures against our access to its market. The speculation seems to have been ill-founded on two counts.

We continue to enjoy access and have never enjoyed a "privileged position" in the U.S. market, as was claimed.

As the trade and industry booklet puts it: "There is no bilateral trade agreement between the two countries. Trade is determined by common acceptance of GATT rights and obligations. Most favoured nation's status is that accorded by any GATT contracting party to all other contracting parties. There is no suggestion that the U.S. administration would take action to discriminate in trade against New Zealand contrary to GATT obligations.

"Currently, it does not give New Zealand exports the benefit of an injury test when U.S. interests lodge benefitting from government subsidies, but that position was foreshadowed several years ago and will be reviewed when New Zealand export incentives not in conformity with the GATT subsidies code have been terminated."

Fair enough. But what happens if and when New Zealand, with Australia, moves into a beyond CER arrangement with the United States of America? At that point, we would have a "privileged position," and be vulnerable to pressures on other foreign policy and defence issues.

Or is that just scare talk? At the very least, some foreign policy scrubcutting looks to be needed before New Zealand can seriously entertain expanding its trade links in CER-like arrangements.

And in regard to Australia's intentions, first up we need to know what its study on CER with the United States of America says about the future of CER with New Zealand? Does it have a future?

Or will New Zealand be left alone, as it has since rejecting the Federation 1901, in its distant South Pacific backwater to play the part--which it loves so much--of a mischief-maker and irritant to Australia's bid to exercise an expanded global influence? A visit from Bob Hawke is overdue.

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CSO: 4200/119

PAPER EXAMINES NEED FOR SINGAPORE BASE

HK290757 Wellington THE EVENING POST in English 23 Oct 86 p 4

[Article by defence reporter Roger Mackey]

[Excerpts] It has been said one of the minor puzzles a visitor from Mars would have to work out had it appeared in the early 1950's was why a small country with a tiny population had the military commitments of a superpower.

With obligations or forces in the Middle East, the Northern Pacific and Southeast Asia, we had a range of attachments and associations that seem difficult for a New Zealander living in the 1980's to grasp.

In the last half of the 1950's also that range narrowed to one more familiar to the modern-day New Zealander. We detached ourselves from Europe and the Middle East, and the Korean conflict had ended.

The focus for our commitment outside the South Pacific--recognised as our most important line of defence--was to be Southeast Asia, an area of newly independent or about-to-be-independent states.

Our battalion in Singapore is the modern residue of this 1950's commitment.

From one point of view this change was a very natural one. The ties of blood and rock-hard economic interest which had seen New Zealand servicemen in action so far from home were either weakening or likely to weaken in the near future. The emotional and economic imperative to take part in conflict quite so far away was declining.

The attachment to Southeast Asia and, in particular, what was to become known as Malaysia was justified under a policy of forward defence. This lacked both the close family tie and, at that time, the economic bonds that had shaped the past deployments.

The reason given, instead, concentrated on the need to play a part in the collective security policies of the Western Alliance and that it was or would very shortly be in our interest if the region was as stable and prosperous as possible.

In a way, forward defence was not new at all. After all, it is difficult, from the perspective of New Zealand, to get much further forward then Europe and the Middle East.

The question in the mid-1950's, of course, was not whether forward defence was a good or bad idea but just how far forward defence should be. This question still dominates New Zealand discussions of conventional defence.

For most of the last decade it has been official policy--stated in the 1978 Defence Review--that our force in Singapore was, like the Middle East commitment of earlier years, rather too far forward than it need be.

Now the forward focus--and this is true of both National and Labour--is wholly and solely on the South Pacific, the region recognised since 1944 as our most direct area of military interest.

From this point of view the Army battalion in Singapore and its support units look a little out of place, not to mention exposed. If risks were assigned to New Zealand's remaining alliances, military attachments, and overseas commitments, Singapore would easily head the list.

This is not the same as saying the battalion is a liability and a danger. The two countries with which we have had most contact in the region, Malaysia and Singapore, have been both stable and prosperous.

In Malaysia that stability and prosperity is partly the result of the earlier military effort by outside nations in which New Zealand played a part. That stability and prosperity has, no doubt, contributed to Singapore's security as well.

Our historical contribution lessens any surprise that might be caused by the Malaysian and Singaporean keenness for the force to remain where it is. But, it still does not explain their attitude entirely.

The rest of the explanation can be found in the Ministry of Defence's briefing papers prepared for their new minister in 1984.

Discussing the 1978 Defense Review and its description of the New Zealand force in Singapore as "anachronistic," the papers referred to comments by the Malaysian prime minister and Singapore minister of defence.

They had, said the briefing papers, "expressed the view that withdrawal would signal a lack of confidence in the region and this would be destabilising."

Their motivation, the ministry told Defence Minister Frank O'Flynn, was the recent evidence of instability in the wider region. Among such evidence was the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea and the growing presence of the USSR in the South China Sea.

The New Zealand force was thus, "a positive demonstration of external support in unsettled circumstances. Singapore and Malaysia also clearly found some comfort in the shadow linkage to the United States provided by the Australian and New Zealand presence in the region."

To the jaundiced eye, this trip-wire function may seem a little like applying to be the canary that falls down dead at the first sign of poison gas in an underground mine.

This is an exaggeration; the danger is real enough but is, at the moment, not high.

(The Five Power Defence Arrangements under which the Singapore force operates obliges the parties--Australia, Malaysia, the UK, Singapore, and New Zealand--to consult in the event of an armed attack that was externally organised or supported "for the purpose of deciding what measures should be taken jointly or separately in relation to such attack or threat.")

It may surprise, however, that when the question of the force in Singapore was raised, the Ministry of Defence was not arguing strongly against such a move.

It would have cost money to bring the battalion home intact and to find a home for them. This cost would have been borne in 1984, however, because withdrawal of the force promised net savings of about 14 million for capital equipment.

The collapse of ANZUS and the probable collapse of many of our ties with Great Britain mean that much of what we did in association with such allies (training, buying equipment, and supplies at favourable rates, exercises and intelligence gathering) will either be done at a higher cost or not done at all.

A rising list of tasks and a cap on defence spending mean the Ministry of Defence and the politicians will be faced with some difficult choices.

The Singapore battalion and its supporting units may be a casualty of that squeeze, foreign policy objectives or no foreign policy objectives.

A sign of this is the consideration being given to the withdrawl of defence attaches from Thailand and Malaysia. The two countries would then be served by an attache based in Singapore.

After Australia our second-largest defence exercise partners are the Malaysians and the Singaporeans. The bulk of these exercises are with the Malaysians.

This week, for example, is the second of a 3-week exercise in Johore State with the Malaysian police field force.

A withdrawal from Singapore might give some net savings to the Ministry of Defence and the Army, but the complications would not end there.

Our closest allies, the Australians, keep an infantry company at Butterworth in Malaysia (they are also on the present exercise in Johore). They have also agreed to station their brand new F18 fighter strike aircraft at Butterworth for a minimum of more than 4 months a year. To some this is an increase in their commitment to the region.

Will they be happy if New Zealand pulls out of Singapore?

Quite apart from the possible disapproval of Australia and the disappointment of ASEAN countries, a pullout would be a less than reassuring signal to both the British (a partner in the Five Power Arrangements) and the United States of America.

As Mr O'Flynn's briefing papers said in 1984: "For its part, without being direct or in any way applying 'pressure' the United States let it be known that although the decision was one for New Zealand alone they, too, would prefer us to stay."

If the Singapore battalion was disbanded it would leave the New Zealand Army with only one regular force battalion for the first time since 1974. Although it might ensure that the Burnham battalion was fully manned, the move would have other--negative--complications.

Opportunities for young infantry officers to lead their own platoons are already restricted. This would make the problem worse. The loss of one battalion would also call into question the size of the Army's officer corps, and its support and command structure. It could, in other words, set off a long chain of unintended consequences.

A single battalion would also cut the flexibility of the Army, reducing the numbers of people and range of skills it might draw on in an emergency. If the emergency was a significant one, any brigade mobilised by New Zealand would have two out of its three battalions made up of territorials rather than the present one of three.

Of our near neighbours, Australia has six regular-force battalions and Fiji has two.

A drop to one battalion might also not please the Australians.

New Zealand is placing considerable stress (in both senses of the word) on our relationship with Australia. Will we be able to carry out our obligations--even in peacetime--to Australia with only one battalion?

In time of conflict would it be politically acceptable for New Zealand's sole battalion to be deployed overseas?

A more specific question--from the Australian point of view--deals with the South Pacific. As the latest of our forward defence perimeters, the South Pacific presents a huge area.

The islands may be small, but the distances that separate them are vast. As New Zealand's triservice exercise in the Cook Islands earlier this year showed, New Zealand has a capability to operate in the area but it is pitched at a very low level.

If that capability fell still further, any role Australia saw us as fulfilling in the South Pacific in a bilateral pact might be called into question.

If a fall in the Army's capability occurred about the same time as a fall in the capability of the Air Force and the Navy and New Zealand remained in a pact with Australia the reaction of the Australians might be even less charitable.

The options then would amount to a loss of independence to Australia or a retreat into complete isolation.

If the latter occurs, New Zealand's forward defence perimeter in the early part of next century may consist of a couple of elderly Army trucks pushed across the road at Paekakariki and a few small arms issued to the crew of Wellington's police launch.

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CSO: 4200/119

OPPOSITION LEADER WARNS OF RISK TO UK DEFENSE TIES

HK300401 Auckland THE NEW ZEALAND HERALD in English 24 Oct 86 p 5

[Article by Wellington staff]

[Text] The leader of the opposition, Mr Bolger, says New Zealand can no longer assume that it will follow Britain in every international dispute.

But he told a press conference yesterday that the Labour Government risked losing all defence co-operation with Britain by its anti-nuclear policy.

The prime minister, Mr Lange, has himself speculated that Britain may cut off training exchanges with New Zealand defence officials because of a clause in the government's anti-nuclear bill which bans New Zealanders from aiding foreign officers who may have control over a nuclear device.

Mr Bolger referred to a cartoon in the NEW ZEALAND HERALD yesterday which quoted the statement by the first Labour prime minister, Michael Joseph Savage, in 1939: "Where Britain goes, we go; where she stands, we stand."

Mr Lange recently appealed to Labour Party supporters for funds in a letter which showed Mr Savage's portrait immediately above that of Mr Lange himself.

Mr Bolger said the cartoon showed the "hypocrisy" of the Lange government in trying to appeal to the memory of Mr Savage at the same time as its defence policy belied what he stood for.

Asked whether he was suggesting that New Zealand should still go wherever Britain went, Mr Bolger replied: "No, I do not believe you can have a universal policy like that."

But he said New Zealand still relied on Britain to state its case for continued access for New Zealand products to the European Community.

"You simply cannot thumb your noses at governments around the world on a variety of important issues and then assume they will come to your help and aid when you call."

Mr Bolger acknowledged that the British had continued to represent New Zealand's view in Europe so far, but he said they had done so without enthusiasm and only because they felt an obligation to do so.

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CSO: 4200/119

GANDHI VISIT TERMED 'RESOUNDING SUCCESS'

HK290941 Wellington THE EVENING POST in English 20 Oct 86 p 2

[Article by diplomatic reporter Karen Brown]

[Text] Few official visits to this country could have gone better than the one by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi which ended early yesterday.

There was an almost audible sigh of relief among the rather tired-looking New Zealand officials as members of the large Indian delegation were delivered safety to Auckland International Airport and took off in their Air India jet for Thailand shortly after midnight Saturday.

The whirlwind, high-security, 56-hour New Zealand visit by Mr Gandhi and his wife Sonia was over, and it was a resounding success.

Most pleased about the way things went was Prime Minister David Lange, who seemed to be on a high from the start of the visit on Thursday evening.

While the styles of the two leaders were utterly different, there was no doubt about the fact that they hit it off and were enjoying themselves. This could also be seen in exchanges between Naomi Lange and Sonia Gandhi who, described by Indians as a private person, declined all requests for interviews in New Zealand.

Speaking to reporters at Turangawaewae Marae, Ngaruawahia, on Saturday, Mr Lange said the visit had gone "better than we could have expected, better than we did expect."

Mr Gandhi, his firm friend for 2 years, had managed to "burst out" of the trappings of such a large official tour and the two men had been able to talk and develop an extraordinarily close rapport, Mr Lange said.

Asked if was [as published] closer to Mr Gandhi than any other world leader, Mr Lange replied: "At the moment, yes."

He put the reason for this down to age (he is, at 44, just 2 years older than Mr Gandhi), the fact that they had met fairly often, and that the Indian leader had "an outlook that is tempered by the same sort of experiences, curiously, as I've had."

Mr Gandhi also indicated he was at home in New Zealand. He appeared to be wearing a bulletproof vest under his jacket, but never appeared anxious about security.

The only time India's leader appeared at all awkward was, in fact, immediately after his address at Turangawaewae.

Mr Gandhi had obviously realised that after a speech, according to Maori custom a waiata (song) was called for. He looked a little worried and said, "At this stage I need a little bit of assistance."

The local Taniwharu cultural group helped out in fine style, which was unlike Mr Lange's experience minutes earlier--his Beehive staff in Wellington sang with him in Maori.

Mr Gandhi delighted those at the Marae, however, with his speech, which included the words tena koutou, tena koutou, tena koutou katoa (hello).

The Indian prime minister addressed Mr Lange as "David" throughout the trip, and the two had a healthy banter going from the first day.

At a press conference on Friday, for example, questioned by an Indian journalist on their age similarity, Mr Lange said, "That's about the only thing we have in common. I mean, just look at us," he said, referring to the fact that he is bigger than Mr Gandhi.

Later, Mr Lange took obvious pleasure in describing India as the "burrah sahib" (big fellow) and New Zealand as the "chota sahib" (little chap) in the India-New Zealand relationship, and then said this point was demonstrated by himself and Mr Gandhi.

At another point, on the question of the men's similarities, Mr Lange told an Indian journalist that they had also both "married offshore" (Mrs Lange is British-born and Mrs Gandhi Italian by birth).

The only people not laughing during such light-hearted moments during the visit were the team of security men and women who formed an impenetrable, human barrier between the Gandhis and the public.

Security was tightest during the visit at Saturday night's reception held by the Indian High Commissioner to New Zealand Admiral Oscar Dawson, for Mr Gandhi to meet members of the New Zealand Indian community including sikhs.

Guests had to have their bags and purses searched and to walk through a metal-detector device before being admitted.

Even so, the event rapidly turned into a headache for security as the approximately 200 guests, eager to get close to Mr Gandhi, rushed forward and seemed likeiy to mob him unintentionally. Admiral Dawson pleaded for order.

The reception for the Indian community, some of whom came from as far afield as Wellington and the South Island, was a moving occasion. At the end, guests chanted "Long live Rajiv Gandhi" and sang India's national anthem.

After some prompting from Admiral Dawson, Messers Lange and Gandhi, behaving, it has to be said almost like a couple of lads, agreed on who was to speak first.

When it was his turn to speak, Mr Gandhi addressed the gathering in Hindi. According to the translations of the Indian journalists present, he said it was the first time he had met so many members of an overseas Indian community who had become nationals of the country of their residence.

He congratulated them for having made significant contributions to the development of New Zealand.

In his talks with Mr Lange, he had established an enduring friendship with this country, Mr Gandhi reportedly said. The two leaders had reached a high level of understanding and trade and commerce between India and New Zealand was expected to flourish in the coming months.

In the stories that they filed immediately for the India media, the journalists said a high-level Indian delegation would visit New Zealand soon to follow up the agreements reached in the economic and technological fields. A New Zealand delegation would also visit India with a similar purpose, they wrote.

Mr Gandhi, in his speeches and other comments here, seemed to strike a chord, with his statements about nuclear issues, world trade problems, the importance of focusing on the South Pacific region, and cultural identity.

If India was not able to preserve its inherent spirituality, "I do not think we will actually have progressed, even if we get tremendous economic progress," he told one reception.

"We feel that economic development must be matched equally by human development for Indians," he said to applause.

India is a founding member and leader in the Non-Aligned Movement. Mr Gandhi, at many occasions, outlined what this meant, although neither he nor Mr Lange seemed willing to tackle full, publicly at least, New Zealand's relationship to the movement of mostly developing countries.

Mr Lange did comment that, in his view, there had been a "huge jump" in public attitudes when a prime minister of India could stand in front of an audience of business and society people, as Mr Gandhi did at an Auckland Regional Chamber of Commerce luncheon, and talk about non-alignment and get applause.

"That's giddy stuff," said Mr Lange.

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CSO: 4200/119

EDITORIAL CALLS FOR GREATER PUBLIC DEBATE

HK270752 Wellington THE EVENING POST in English 21 Oct 86 p 6

[Editorial: "Flip/Flops in Our External Policies"]

[Text] As the government's anti-nuclear bill looks set to unpick a vast network of historic relationships, the country's retiring defence chief, Sir Ewan Jamieson, has noted that our society lacks informed, balance, and rational analysis on issues such as defence.

His comments echo the complaints of others that New Zealand, perhaps because of its small population, has been largely without political dialogue about what place it wants in the world.

This lack of debate about how we perceive ourselves may have led to what Sir Ewan describes as our leaping to conclusions and condemning those who have a contrary point of view. And there is little doubt that New Zealand's support for the nuclear-based defence of the West has survived intellectually unchallenged since the Second World War. Those who campaigned against it were largely dismissed as tools of Soviet propaganda.

Although a nuclear presence was, in recent years, contested by groups of demonstrators when American naval ships visited, as many, if not more, New Zealanders opened their homes to visiting American service personnel. Given these conflicting and largely emotional messages, it is little wonder the Labour Party told the electors in 1984 they could have ANZUS and a unique anti-nuclear role too. This was naive but the lack of rational public analysis meant that when New Zealanders were confronted with the cold reaction of the Americans, British, and Australians, they in turn felt let down by their friends.

As we reported last Friday, 17 October, the British have said our defence stance is incompatible with our ties with them.

Now the Australians, too, have apparently asked the latest defence review team to think through the implications of the government's determination to draw closer to them in defence matters.

It is little wonder that the 2-day visit of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was such a success.

Here at last was a world leader, outside the Soviet bloc, prepared to come here and say nothing either disparaging or rude about our defence arrangements.

Yet this visit, too, was another chapter in our uneven policy-making.

Four years ago the high commission in New Delhi was closed down for economic reasons: Whether this was an option suggested first by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, or by the then prime minister, Sir Robert Muldoon, may not be clarified until the files are opened more than 20 years from now.

But with a new 7 million dollar complex to be built in Delhi 4 years after there was little if any public resistance to closing down the other one, some evidence can be seen for a mood of uncertainty as to where we are in relation to the rest of the world.

Just as former defence chiefs have warned against the anti-nuclear stance, former high commissioners to India spoke out about closing the office there.

But the voice of experience was lost in the waves of public indifference.

Activists and economists have been allowed to dictate policy-making. Informed debate is difficult in a narrowly-based society such as ours because the relevant officials have a constitutional obligation not to speak out and when they retire it is little wonder, given the polarised nature of political debate, that most of them seem to prefer the quiet life.

Naturally enough most politicians would prefer it this way but defence specialists may now have to confront the obligation to come out of their foxhole and take part in the debate on what sort of country we want to be.

The risk is that if our public debate is left to those without direct experience we could become so isolated from reality that, like some of our endangered birdlife, we would find New Zealand unfitted to deal with the dangers of the ordinary world.

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CSO: 4200/119

COLUMNISTS HIT PALACE STATEMENTS ON U.S. SUPPORT

'Reflect Colonial Mentality'

HK291001 Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 29 Oct 86 p 4

["My Cup of Tea" column by Ninez Cacho-Olivares: "Danger Signals"]

[Text] A coup d'etat, says Press Secretary Teodoro Benigno, is not at all possible because: a) General Fidel Ramos, in the words of Mr Benigno--"the key man in any attempt to establish military rule in this country"--is on the side of Mrs Aquino and unsupportive of such a move, and b) Mrs Aquino enjoys the "complete and unqualified support of the United States Government, as expressed by, among others, Ambassador Stephen Bosworth, Secretary of State George Shultz, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, and President Reagan himself."

I really don't know how the latest Palace statements grab Filipinos. All I know is that they rub me in the worst way. To me, the statements reflect the colonial mentality and the growing insecurity of Mrs Aquino and her officials. The Filipino people, who successfully toppled a government through people power, are apparently unimportant these days to the Aquino officials. American support is, as can be gleaned from the importance the Aquino government places on the American Government's support and the backing of the AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos. The Aquino government's insecurity shows much too much when Mrs Aquino and her boys continue to place so much emphasis on Gen Ramos' support for the president. It also shows that the civilian government is weak, and much too dependent on the military leadership--under General Ramos--for its continued existence.

If the central government thought itself strong and stable, it would not even dream of coming up with statements like these. True, the press secretary uttered these statements, but they were really only echoes of the past statements of Mrs Aquino. The president and her boys seem to forget that it was not America but the Filipino people who fought to topple the Marcos government and install her to power. In her speeches, she spoke of the death of her husband, the evils of the Marcos regime, her strength as president and the bravery of the Filipino people as shown in the 4-day uprising. But today, when talk of a possible coup crops up, she and her officials no longer speak of the strength and courage of the Filipino people. They speak of American support.

It only shows the extreme naivete of the Aquino government. America's "complete and unqualified support" is elastic. America supports whichever government it believes will serve its interests. If supporting the Aquino government dovetails with American interests, why, America will continue to display publicly its support for this government. America will always serve its interests first and foremost. This was clearly shown in the past. America supported Marcos and dumped him on the 11th hour when it shifted its support to Mrs Aquino. It will dump Mrs Aquino when it becomes evident that American interests are being threatened.

But what is so strange about the Aquino government is that it owes America nothing, and yet it continues to pander to Washington's interests. And it even makes such a big thing about Reagan's public display of support. Good grief! Are we a sovereign and independent nation, or are we still a colony of the United States, with our future utterly dependent on the American Government's decisions and support? Past presidents have always sought American support. I had hoped Mrs Aquino would be different. But she appears to be taking the same path they had taken.

Then she also speaks of the support of General Ramos, forgetting that she, not Ramos, is the president and commander-in-chief.

Why should the Palace stress the importance of Ramos' support for the government? He is, after all, only the chief of staff--an extendee, for that matter--and the president does have the power to retire him and appoint another chief of staff. But she doesn't. Instead she gives General Ramos and his support too much importance, both of which lend credence to the earlier statements of Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile that a deal involving equal power-sharing among the three was forged during the 4-day uprising. I'm sorry to say I'm extremely disappointed in Mrs Aquino and her Cabinet men. They had talked of making the Armed Forces an apolitical and professional force, but how do they expect to bring these changes if they continue to be dependent on the military leadership for its continued existence and equate the military with Ramos?

General Ramos has been playing his cards right. From practically nowhere, he has emerged as the "key to the future." Perhaps because Mrs Aquino leans too much on him, he has gotten more than what he had bargained for--and all to his favor.

Key officers are being promoted and installed in sensitive areas. And chances are, these officers have the backing of General Ramos. Chances are, loyalty will again be to an individual. He is so powerful and influential that he can even get Mrs Aquino to look over his list of local government appointees whom he feels should be replaced. This is being apolitical and professional? What does the chief of staff have to do with local appointees?

The Aquino government may not know it, but it is committing a big mistake in creating the impression that the key to its continued existence is General Ramos.

But it will realize that if and when the true power play between the military and the Aquino government begins.

Candor 'Provokes Alarm'

HK291423 Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 29 Oct 86 pp 1, 4

[Editorial: "Must the Government Be So Proud of Its Vassalage?"]

[Text] One cannot but appreciate the candor of Palace official Teodoro Benigno when he pointedly reminded Monday the president's critics--presumably led by Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile--that a coup in this country at present would not be feasible unless it has the blessings of the Great White Father, Reagan, and his military commanders.

In effect, Mr Benigno was merely confirming something that many perceptive Filipinos have known--and have been saying--all along that all Philippine regimes since the declaration of independence have had to secure blessing from the Americans.

And so, we now get the impression that the Palace wears, like a badge of honor, that stamp of Mr Reagan's approval which says, "Coup-proof"--the guarantee that the masters of intervention will not lift a finger (officially) to encourage any rightist overthrow of the Aquino government.

That was a rather candid and realistic observation, we must say, but at the same time it provokes alarm. That a palace official wound make that statement at an official briefing for reporters seems to indicate that this government, like the one before it, would not have any qualms about boasting of the U.S. support it is getting.

In Mr Benigno's view, the Philippine military leaders traditionally look to their American counterparts for signals, a rather logical observation considering recent history.

That the Palace boast of U.S. support comes a few days after American Ambassador Stephen Bosworth's "pivotal role" in the February Revolution was dramatically announced in a tribute to him by the Batanguenos makes the whole thing more disgusting.

Well, Mrs Aquino may have gotten enthusiastic cheers at the U.S. Congress, Mr Reagan may have whispered tempting promises in her ear during her official visit, but that cannot detract from the fact that the Americans, as always, are using the carrot and stick approach on Filipino leaders.

Given Minister Enrile's background and connections, it is hard to see why he would be so determined to test his luck in as shameful a manner as he is doing now, if he is not himself honing to any signals of support. His acts are obviously part of a cleverly designed "shakedown" of the Aquino government, an operation that, sadly, seems to be succeeding.

As always--and Mr Benigno should be aware of this--the Great White Father will profess full support for a willing (?ally but he) will never stack its cards on any one bet.

Demeans Nation, Embarrasses Government

HK301218 Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 30 Oct 86 p 4

["Here and Now" column by Francisco S. Tatad: "Minding Out Self-Respect"]

[Text] Press Secretary Teddy Benigno has said in 2 days what will perhaps take us several light years to digest.

First, he said a coup d'etat against Mrs Aquino was unlikely because she, and not any other official, had the complete and unqualified support of the United States.

Second, he said the 27 January plebiscite on the proposed new constitution would be a battle between the pro- and anti-Aquino forces, and that any Cabinet minister who would campaign against it would have no business staying in the Cabinet.

First things first.

If Benigno were still a wire service bureau chief analyzing the prospects of a coup, I would give him good marks for proposing that analysis. And then I'd pray that he is right. But as a presidential spokesman talking about his government, his statement was a disappointment.

Were he talking about the prospect of the country being overrun by external forces, he could have warned the potential aggressor that an attack on the Philippines might be considered an attack on the United States and appropriately met, subject to American "constitutional processes." But he was talking of something purely internal--the constitutional challenge hurled by Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and others to Mrs Aquino's government.

The key word here is internal [preceding word in italics]. This means it is purely our affair, nobody else's. The fact that the U.S. ambassador and the spokesman of the State Department in Washington have issued statements to the same effect should have been sufficient. In fact, Malacanang could have quietly asked the U.S. Embassy and State Department to speak more of Mrs Aquino's strong support among Filipinos, and less of her external support. Whether from Manila or from Washington, the statement should have said that the Filipino people were strongly behind Mrs Aquino and that they would not allow any precipitate change. Unless, of course, they no longer believe it.

My simple point is that it demands the nation and embarrasses its government to have the official spokesman paint the president as someone who will survive the internal challenges to her government only because of the good graces of the United States. Whether or not this happens to be Mrs Aquino's own perception of her government is completely beside the point. This is one case where complete candor is not a virtue and truth is not a defense. As an independent and sovereign nation, we have our pride and self-respect. We must keep an appearance of independence, even if--or especially if--appearance it all is.

Thoughtful Filipinos are insulted enough everytime a statement from the U.S. Congress or an editorial in the American press, no matter how well meant, suggests we behave as Washington wants us to behave. But it is a greater insult when the official spokesman suggests that our country has, for all intents and purposes, become a protectorate, and our president a "pet," of the United States.

Now, the press secretary has also "warned" Cabinet ministers against taking an adverse position on the proposed constitution. This is hard to digest. The president can warn the Cabinet or anybody through the press secretary. But the press secretary does not have the authority to "warn" anybody in the Cabinet, unless they encroach upon his official prerogatives.

Perhaps, this is a case of bad reporting rather than bad spokesmanship. The fault is probably not the spokesman's, but that of the press. But there is something dangerous and frightening about it. If the president has taken the position that every appointee of hers must campaign for the ratification of the proposed constitution, then Heaven help those who have not developed the taste for it!

What happens to the bureaucracy which previous laws had sought for good reason to prohibit and protect from involvement in partisan activities? Will they not be herded to the precincts to support what Mrs Aquino may later choose to call the fight between "the forces of light against the forces of darkness?"

What happenes if someone like Vice-President and Foreign Minister Salvador Laurel decides that out of sheer delicadeza [discretion], he should not campaign for a draft constitution that gives him and Mrs Aquino a term of 6 years and 4 months without going through a new election? Should he and Mrs Aquino not in fact try to keep away from the campaign for that very reason?

If Mrs Aquino were to be consistent with her public moral posture, she should avoid doing anything that would be construed as giving primacy to her self-interest. But are we about to see this?

Mrs Aquino came to power promising not to do what Marcos did to the Constitution or to the nation. She has tried to be different in some respects. But while no one may accuse Marcos of instrumentalizing his faith, and Mrs Aquino of buying buildings in New York, she seems to regard the Constitution like a secret admirer of Marcos.

Reality of U.S. 'Meddling'

HK301217 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 30 Oct 86 p 9

[Editorial: "Threat of Military Dictatorship"]

[Text] Filipino nationalists have raised umbrage over the remarks of the presidential spokesman, Teodoro Benigno, that it would be hard to topple the Aquino government because it has the full support of the Reagan administration and that the Philippine military is sensitive to signals from Washington.

It is easy to understand the resentment of Filipinos when reminded that the fate of their government rests on the interference of foreign powers. The fact of foreign intervention in internal affairs injures national pride. But Mr Benigno's remarks merely restated a political reality--the vulnerability of our national affairs to U.S. meddling. This reality is rooted in our colonial experience, and its most concrete expression is the existence of the U.S. military bases and extensive American economic interests--both of which have diminished our national sovereignty and autonomy in foreign affairs.

What Mr Benigno is saying is that in assessing the prospects of the survival of the government now under increasing challenge from several sources--not the least of which is that of the defense minister--the dynamics of political reality must not be ignored.

Day after Mr Benigno had spoken [as published], reports from Washington said that the Reagan administration was closely watching Philippine developments and had signalled "strong support" for the government. The reports more or less confirm the thesis that, regardless of whether we like it or not, the U.S. factor is important.

The U.S. factor is especially significant to the military establishment which has traditionally been U.S.-oriented, and has been sustained by American arms aid and whose leaders are sensitive to Washington's preferences.

It is, however, erroneous to assign to the United States the decisive weight in determining the outcome of domestic conflicts. U.S. policy towards the Philippines is essentially opportunistic. The 11th-hour decision by President Reagan to dump the Marcos regime is the most recent illustration of this opportunism, and the Aquino government is ill-advised to interpret the "signals" from Washington as an iron-clad guarantee that it would be bailed out by the United States.

The White House gave Mr Marcos similar signals, but these did not save him from the decision of the people to overthrow the regime--regardless of what bonds Mr Reagan had with Mr Marcos.

To go down to fundamentals, Washington may have a predisposition towards certain political groups or regimes, but when upheavals it cannot prevent take place, it quickly transforms policy and bends with the wind.

The lesson for the Aquino government is that it should go back--and immediately--to its power base, the people, and mobilize them in defense of democracy which will be the first casualty if the government is overthrown. The issue is as basic as that and our people should be aware of this.

Let there be no ifs and buts about this. If this government goes under, there are only two ways in which this nation will go--either a military dictatorship or a communist takeover. At this stage, the threat of a military dictatorship is more imminent than the dictatorship of the Left. This priority must be recognized.

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MANILA COLUMNIST ON AQUINO'S 'INVISIBLE PRESIDENCY'

HK291031 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 29 Oct 86 p 9

["Analysis" column by Amando Doronila: "Tradition of Presidency is Interventionist"]

[Text] The other day, the Aquino presidency began to answer back its critics within the Cabinet. The counter-attack came about when the president allowed her press secretary, Teodoro Benigno, to speak about her reaction to the criticism voiced by the vice-president, Mr Laurel, of the draft Constitution.

Mr Benigno had been under siege by reporters covering the Palace for reaction to the continuing attack on her overall performance by some of her Cabinet ministers, and all she got from the president was that they be not answered. She had wanted to be above the din of battle, even though she had been the target of the attack, and had come out with a bloodied nose.

Mr Benigno had become impatient about this attitude of see no evil, say no evil, and speak no evil. He had been fed up with being unable to react to questions put by reporters. Moreover, the silence of the president on issues raised by her rebellious ministers had permitted them to gain the initiative and to make her look weak, not to mention silly.

So, the other day, when reporters began to put questions about Mr Laurel's adversary position on the draft Constitution, Mr Benigno badgered the president to comment and she obliged. Now, Benigno, who is very articulate, is in his element.

One of the characteristics of Aquino presidency is that it has the lowest profile in the nation's post-independence history--as if it were always crouching to hide and duck from attacks. All previous presidents had used the presidency as a medium to communicate their policies and to galvanize popular support behind them. Mrs Aquino's is the only invisible presidency we have ever had, and in a time of political volatility, the people need direction and inspiration from the center. In short, they long for leadership.

They are not getting it from her. That's why in the vacuum, other sources of leadership, some of which come from her own cabinet, are emerging to supply what she lacks. She need not be bashful. The presidential speeches are well-written, concise and short; they are better than the verbose oratory of former President Marcos.

But what is lacking is that the Palace is slow to react, if at all it does. It had allowed its critics to define the issues and the agenda of public debate, and it does not care even to explain its side. No one wins a debate by just keeping quiet--even if the purpose of silence is to cool tensions.

The presidency is a communications platform for crucial policy issues. It is the president's sounding board, and her occupation of the most important office in the land gives her the communications advantage that other politicians do not have. Every little thing the president does and every word she says are news. And yet who is getting all the news?

This communications default is unpardonable. Mountebanks are dying to get their points of view in the media. But here, you have a president who is losing the propaganda war by default because she refused to use the facility of her office to put across her own point of view.

It is too early to say whether the new visibility following the Benigno discourse to the media signals a more articulate presidency. What we are seeing very often is a president who seeks asylum behind the cloisters of the religious sisters when she faces crisis.

She may find strength from prayers which however, do not make her communicate with her people. The tradition of the Philippine presidency is activist and interventionist. The president does not stay above the turbulence like a benign observer indifferent to what's going on below. Institutionally, the presidency is not like a constitutional monarchy whose powers have historically been clipped after centuries of conflict between parliament and the absolute monarch.

Our presidency is a republican institution, which is sensitive to the ebb and flow of events and to the pulse of the people. A presidency that does not follow this tradition cannot hold popular confidence for a long time...

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CEBU COLUMNISTS ATTACK ENRILE'S STATEMENTS, CREDIBILITY

HK310545 Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 21 Oct 86 pp 4, 9

["Two in One" column by Pampee Barcenas and Jenner Lobedica: "Enrile's Paranoid Claim"]

[Text] Very recently, the effeminate, talkative, conceited, powerhungry perfidious, braggadocio, and demagogue Juan Ponce Enrile stated that if he will quit his post as defense minister from the government of Mrs Cory Aquino, surely, the Philippine Republic disintegrate and finally succumbed to the hands of the communists, that this nation will collapse if he is out of the government. Asa Ka [are you kidding], collapse?

Enrile delivered that funny and paranoid and ridiculous statement during the Marcos Loyalist rally masked as anti-communist rally here in Cebu at Fuente Osmena last Sunday, October 19.

Funny, ridiculous, and paranoid in the sense that according to him, his presence alone in the Aquino government could be the cause that the insurgency problem could be outrightly curbed, if not, diminish in its scope and magnitude.

Demagogue Ferdinand E. Marcos, who happens to be Enrile's boss for 20 years, during his poignant incumbency, let the Filipinos also believe that he alone could steer (and no one else) the ship of our state to the harvest fields of triumph and glory.

But the total reverse is true because by his continuance in office, disaster, chaos, and confusion and hopelessness was the result of his unpopular and sinful regime which was detrimental to the cause of our country and people.

Marcos' techniques and ideas in solving the insurgency problem are presently and pitifully parroted by one of his erstwhile tuta [lapdog] and minion in the person of braggadocio Enrile, dubbed today as the exponent of the "Red Scare" tactic designed to destabilize the Aquino government and to confuse and hoodwink the Americans and the Filipinos, in order to let the former dictator Marcos return to the helm of power, if not, the latter to the installed as dictator once again of our troubled nation.

Enrile's claim is dubious and incredible. How about President Aquino herself and her coterie of public officials?

How about General Fidel V. Ramos considered as West Point graduate?

Are they also not capable of handling the insurgency problem? Only Enrile?

During the long tenure of Enrile as defense minister of this country, insurgency problem rose to unprecedented heights because of his inefficiency in combatting such kind of national dilemma.

The best thing for Enrile to do now is to resign from his present post and consign himself to a sedate and private life, or if not, flew to Hawaii and hug and lick the feet of his ailing former military and political master Ferdinand E. Marcos.

It is a fact that Enrile had already served our government for quite a long period of time and we Filipinos had already tasted his lousy and shabby and corny brand of unsatisfactory service and performance.

The clamor of the hour is to let Enrile step down in order to give way to more young, dynamic, brilliant, efficient, and humane successors.

Down with Communism! Down with Communism! Down with Dictatorship! Down with Militarism! Down with Enrile! Down with Marcos Loyalist! Up with genuine Peace, Freedom, and Democracy! Long live President Cory Aquino--the exponent of Peace, Freedom, Justice, and Democracy!

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PAPER LINKS RECONCILIATION TO 'PEOPLE POWER' REVERSES

HK031345 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 1 Nov 86 p 9

["On the Contrary" column by Petronilo Bn. Daroy: "The Aftermath of the Reconciliation Policy"]

[Text] To a large extent the conflict between the defense minister and the chief executive derives from the mistaken application of the policy of "reconciliation." It was the appeal for "reconciliation" that put a constraint on the logical pursuit of people's power and, conversely, encouraged the loyalists and the right into testing the will of the new government.

"Reconciliation" was a slogan which Marcos used to temper the protest movement after the Aquino assassination. The concession to that rhetoric was the creation of the Agrava Board. With that as carrot, Marcos dangled the policy of "reconciliation" as a way of stopping the protest movement from further intensifying.

To this transparent gesture, Cardinal Jaime Sin declared that if there must be "reconciliation" in the nation, it cannot be reconciliation in Marcos' terms alone--i.e., that the demands of the protest movement must also be accommodated by the dictatorship.

"Reconciliation," therefore, as a political policy and slogan, was essentially a Marcos gimmick.

Ironically, the slogan was resuscitated not by the Aquino government but by the military. It will be recalled that during the February revolution, the Cory government was not yet in place. Although people's power took command of the radio and television stations through civilian volunteers, direction of the broadcast was provided by Camp Crame.

When it was known that Marcos was about to leave the country, there was first an appeal not to destroy government buildings and property and then, quite predictably, an announcement that buildings and property were being secured and that people's power must be contained.

From this point on, there was but a brief pause before the appeal was transformed into a threat: people's power was being constrained from doing illegal acts. In other words, "the people" now had to be protected from people's power--a very funny turn of logic and semantics.

Almost simultaneously, prayers were said for the deposed dictator, and Cardinal Sin, not be [as published] outdone by the military in goodism, began taking up the appeal for reconciliation.

This misapplication of policy became the fatal flow of the Revolutionary Government.

"Reconciliation" became the basis for the argument that the nation must start on clean slate, meaning to say, that all criminal acts were to be written off. The sinistral implication of this became evident when the members of the Batasang Pambansa wanted a trade-off: in exchange for their retention as a legislative group, they were willing to nullify the proclamation of Marcos as winner of the snap elections and declare Cory the victor. This had the effect also of nullifying the force of people's power and, instead, tying the legitimacy of the Aquino government to the sanctions structures and rules devised by Marcos. The prospect was blatantly contradictory: the logic would have been to remove from the Cory government any independent legitimacy or mandate and make it hopelessly dependent on the institutions and official bodies of the Marcos government.

The concessions that the Cory government yielded to the loyalists and the right disaffected a number of people. There was a temporary withdrawal on the part of people's power, from further interfering in the new politics. Some sectors even shifted to a critical stance.

It is possible that the resurgence of the "yellow army" and the return of people's power will finally resolve the aborted logic of the EDSA [Epifanio de los Santos Avenue] revolution.

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INQUIRER URGES CABINET ENDORSE DRAFT CHARTER

HK291333 Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY INQUIRER in English 29 Oct 86 p 4

[Editorial: "No Middle Ground"]

[Text] Malacanang Monday clearly defined the stand members of the Cabinet must adopt on the draft Constitution--campaign for its ratification. There can be no other interpretation of the plebiscite outcome--approval means endorsement of the Aquino administration; its rejection, loss of confidence.

Members of the president's official family are co-responsible for the government and its fate. A cabinet minister must either support the draft charter or, if he or she cannot, resign.

Vice President Salvador Laurel, himself, enunciated first the moral basis of the Palace policy when he said non-ratification of the proposed Constitution will mean rejection of the Aquino government by the Filipino people. Strangely, Laurel's UNIDO [United Nationalist Democratic Organization] during its last top level meeting, opted to "study" the draft charter before adopting a position.

The Constitution, however, is more than just a partisan document. It is the key to political stability. From the very start, the Aquino government has consistently accented it as the linchpin of a return to constitutional government and political normalcy.

In so far as the ratification of the draft Constitution is concerned, cabinetmen should not equivocate. They must articulate clearly whether they are for it or against approval. And every member should come out immediately with his or her stand. The issue transcends delicadeza. Political morality and consistency are primordial considerations.

Press Secretary Teodoro Benigno aptly termed the plebiscite as the "litmus test" of President Aquino's ability to maintain her centrist position in the face of pressures from both the left and right. The draft charter reflects the hopes and aspirations of the broadest spectrum of the Filipino people for a better and stable future. It must not be the subject of partisan football.

The mechanism for future amendments are contained in the proposed Constitution. This should provide the avenues for rectification of ambiguous provisions and specific objections. The rest were left to the future congress to flesh out.

The Constitutional Commission worked beyond its initial deadline. During the entire period, members of the Cabinet had all the opportunity to present their views or counter-proposals. After all, they were not inhibited from airing their opinions.

However, now that the draft charter is being presented to the electorate for final imprimatur, the members of the Aquino Cabinet are morally bound to spearhead the campaign for its ratification. Those who cannot in conscience endorse it should cut clean and, still freely, campaign against it. There is no room for waffling.

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COLUMNIST VIEWS LAUREL INCONSISTENCY ON CHARTER

HK041035 Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 4 Nov 86 p 4

["My Cup of Tea" column by Ninex Cacho-Olivares: "Wishful Thinking"]

[Text] Vice-President Salvador Laurel was reported to have said sometime last week that "if my conviction tells me to reject the draft constitution, I will campaign against its ratification" and that "nobody can force me to resign. Resignation is up to the person resigning and his reasons behind it." These statements were in reaction to earlier reports which claimed that press secretary Teddy Benigno called for Laurel's resignation as foreign minister should he decide to campaign for the rejection of the draft charter.

From what I gathered so far, the vice-president proposed the inclusion of two questions in the forthcoming plebiscite: If people disapprove of the draft, which of the three constitutions do they prefer? The 1935, 1973, or the Freedom Constitution? And if the people do not approve of Mrs Aquino and himself remaining in office until 1992, do they favor holding an early presidential election? The Aquino boys nixed the Laurel proposals, saying that the government will present the draft charter only in its entirety.

Presidential adviser Rene Saguisag joined the fray when he took on Mr Laurel and debunked his reported contention "that the appointive Constitutional Commission posed a moral issue against the charter."

It will be recalled that even before the snap elections were called, Mr Laurel, in an interview, spoke of a new Constitution that, to him, should be drafted by 50 "wise men." It will also be recalled that his party elders opted for an appointive, instead of an elected Constitutional Commission [Con-Com]. He got what he originally wanted, so why does Mr Laurel now speak of campaigning against the ratification of the draft constitution if his convictions tell him to do so?

Quite frankly, even when he advances some good reasons for the charter's rejection, these just don't come off well, when they are uttered by the vice-president. Perhaps it is mainly because he, more than any other Cabinet minister, pushed for the creation of an appointive constitutional body.

But what bothers me more is the fact that the Aquino government, through its different ministers, has taken the position that Cabinet ministers should resign and officers in charge would be fired if they campaign against the ratification of the charter.

Why is the Aquino government turning the forthcoming issue in the plebiscite into a highly political issue? Rejecting or ratifying a draft constitution should be a strictly non-partisan affair. The Aquino government has no business pushing for the ratification of the draft charter. Strictly speaking, its role is neither to campaign for or against the draft charter but to engage in an exhaustive information program on the pros and cons of the draft constitution so the voter can reach an intelligent decision. If the Aquino government insists on campaigning for the ratification of the charter, it can be presumed that the government machinery will be used to mount an information drive that will be slanted in favor of ratification. But for the Aquino government to do this is to shortchange the nation. The charter, once ratified, will serve as the fundamental law of the land. As such it will affect all aspects of our lives--political, economic, and social. Whether we vote yes or no to the new charter, we owe it to ourselves and our children to make an intelligent and informed decision. But how can the electorate arrive at such a decision if the government insists on taking sides? And how will Mrs Aquino look, campaigning for a charter--drafted by her appointees--that gives her a 6-year term?

But what Mrs Aquino says is that she believes that the coming plebiscite on the new constitution will decide whether Philippine democracy can still work to resolve the insurgency and economic problems. After the constitution is approved, Mrs Aquino was quoted as having said, "People will no longer be talking about instability."

It pains me to point out that talk of instability will continue, whether or not the draft constitution is ratified. The constitution is not the end-all and the be-all. A constitution, in the final analysis, is only a piece of paper, one that can easily be rejected by another revolutionary government.

Almost every time, the nation is told that the draft charter needs to be ratified in order to achieve political stability. But even with a ratified constitution, political stability cannot be achieved if the leadership continues to display weakness and indecisiveness. And neither should the charter be seen as some sort of a solution to the problems of insurgency and the economy.

It is the height of naivete to believe that a new constitution, ratified by the people, will solve the problems of government, of the people and of the country. The sooner the Aquino government realizes this, the better for all of us.

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CSO: 4200/117

LEFTIST GROUPS SAID FUNDED BY AUSTRALIAN GROUPS

HK291353 Manila THE MANILA TIMES in English 29 Oct 86 pp 1, 6

[Text] The military disclosed yesterday that three leftist organizations received funds from Australian communist front organizations.

At the same time, the military confirmed an expose made by the National Movement of Freedom and Democracy (NMFD), a Cebu-based anti-communist movement, which claimed that the recent month-long trip of Jose Ma. Sison, alleged former Communist Party of the Philippines (CCP) chairman, to Australia was specifically to solicit funds for local insurgents.

The military said the leftist organizations which received foreign funding were to Task Force Detainees (TFD), which received $17,000 in 1984 and 1985; the League of Filipino Students (LFS), which was granted $620 for a training program in Mindanao, and the Ecumenical Movement for Justice and Peace (EMJP), which got $4,650 in 1984 and 1985.

The military said Jun Alcover, NMFD national chairman, identified the funding entity as the Asia Partnership for Human Development (APHD) of Australia.

Sison's Australian visit was allegedly sponsored by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP), the official agency of the Australian bishops, the Community Aid Abroad, the Australian Council of Churches, the Australia-Asia Workers' Link and the Australian Communist Party.

Alcover was also quoted by the military as saying the local communists and their front organizations have been receiving millions of dollars from their Australian connection and have successfully established support groups in the United States, Canada, and Europe through the international liaison officers of the National Democratic Front (NDF), Fr. Luis Jalandoni and a Sister Ledesma.

On the other hand, the military quoted the NEWS WEEKLY, an Australian publication, as saying Sison's visit could only lead to a single conclusion:

"That at a time when the NPA has become so strong as to be able to open up partisan warfare in the environs of Manila itself, an official agency of the Catholic Church in Australia is helping to provide a platform in Australia for the leader of the Communist Party of the Philippines and, thereby, wittingly or unwittingly, supports its objectives."

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CSO: 4200/117

DAILY ANALYZES AQUINO, NDF, AFP APPROACH TO TALKS

HK061328 Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER in English 26-29 Oct 86

[26 Oct 86 pp 1, 7]

[Article by Sylvia L. Mayuga--First of a Series]

[Text] "It just wasn't Cory," whispered one of the perfumed Sigma Deltans nervously after President Aquino's "first warlike speech" at the Manila Hotel last Wednesday.

Eight months had gone by, since Joan of Arc became president and commander-in-chief and driven her inaugural crowd at the Club Filipino to gales of appreciative laughter when her first salute to her newly-appointed chief of staff turned into a saucy wave of the hand.

Seven months had passed since she warmed Baguio's mountain air with her "Welcome me, my soldiers" speech at the PMA [Philippines Military Academy] graduation, also the 88th AFP Day.

Six months had passed since the U.P. [University of the Philippines] graduation rites when she first sent out "a message of peace and reconciliation to the Communist-led insurgents" who are widely considered to be "her" soldiers' most formidable adversaries.

Now, almost into the fifth month since her government formally opened peace talks with the CPP-NPA-NDF [Communist Party of the Philippines-New People's Army-National Democratic Front], President Cory was letting loose words that sent goose bumps through a ballroomful of her "active non-violence" supporters.

"Even as I speak," she said, "a comprehensive program for the imposition of peace through economic development, social justice, and military action is being fleshed out.

"We must proceed with the energy, the coordination, the unity of a single hand. Now open in the offer of peace but soon to be clenched in a declaration of war."

Any disbelief that President Cory could possibly have really meant that vanished at the subsequent open forum when, in response to a question from the PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER correspondent, she categorically denied that "there had been a shift" in her stance toward the Communist rebels. She added--she had said from the beginning that she would not hesitate to resort to war should her peace efforts fail.

Any day now, promised the president in that open forum, she would announce a deadline for these peace talks, a time frame which would be shortened every time there was an attack on government centers such as the several the NPA's have conducted even after her ascendancy.

"Johnny made her say that," whispered another Sigma Delta matron who, like the first, insists on anonymity, referring to the "cease-talk" of the night before where the president had defused growing public hysteria over loud rumors of a coup to be led by her intransigent Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile.

Whether or not Johnny had indeed "made her say that" is only one of a series of increasingly interesting life-and-death questions that follow and surround President Cory's second historic speaking engagement to the University of the Philippines' Sigma Delta Phi sorority.

In the days following, this space will raise three questions that range the brief and painful history of these peace talks. These talks began on a note of hope and idealism. Today, they face a hardening rightist reflex in the military, its adherents and supporters both overt and covert.

At this writing, the NDF-CPP-NPA negotiating panel has agreed with its government counterpart to stay away from the media while they bat out a proposal for a ceasefire mechanism "that will work."

This proposal is due on the 31st of October, time enough for the INQUIRER to review the thorny, seemingly impassable road to peace with the Communists.

[27 Oct 86 pp 1, 6]

[Article by Sylvia L. Mayuga--Second in a Series]

[Text] "We will not get rattled," was the reaction of an NDF [National Democratic Front] source to the president's "first warlike speech" at the Manila Hotel last 22 October. "We will continue to work quietly for these talks to continue."

NDF lawyer Arno Sanidad's private opinion is that the president's announcement of an impending deadline for peace talks may have stemmed from lack of awareness of the reasons for delay.

NDF lawyer Romeo Capulong told a lawyer's forum Friday that while there's nothing basically wrong with setting a time frame, problems arise from a deadline imposed "unilaterally" and "in response to pressure...from someone who has been out to scuttle" these talks from the outset.

A review from the start of negotiations 5 months ago reveals twists and turns that cast ever massing clouds of impatience and doubt over these talks where there had been so much initial hope and goodwill.

One was fortuitous. Government negotiator Jose W. Diokno, well trusted by NDF negotiators Ocampo and Zumel, left, for medical treatment in the United States after 2 weeks of preliminary talks.

The first rude surprise was the sudden, bloody end to a limited regional ceasefire forged with the CPP [Communist Party of the Philippines]/NPA by Davao del Norte Governor Prospero Amatong and businessman Jesus Ayala.

It was shattered in mid-August, 2 weeks after, when 15 Scout Rangers and 18 others were killed by three NPA land mines in San Vicente town. This was a traumatic experiment to the military.

On 15 September, Mitra and Guingona met with Capulong and Sanidad. The NDF lawyers were prepared to discuss specific points in the NDF proposal submitted 15 August which deal with security and immunity guarantees for NDF negotiators, security forces, technical consultants, volunteer workers, and the lawyers themselves.

To their surprise, Guingona cut short the discussion and announced the government demand for a 30-day ceasefire. This was beyond authority.

The NDF lawyers knew that a rider tacked on to the original proposal would trigger another round of underground debate--a time-consuming process. A new meeting was agreed for 26 September.

This took place in the home of Diokno. Matters like transferable passes for NDF personnel, the validity of such passes in other parts of the country, freedom from court summons for the duration of the talks were discussed.

The next meeting, set for 30 September with the expected attendance of Ocampo and Zumel, promised the possibility of a final agreement on controversial details of the security and immunity guarantees.

The meeting never took place. On 30 September, top CPP leader Rodolfo Salas was captured by Constabulary agents. Capulong and Sanidad twiddled their thumbs at the meeting place. No one showed up from the government panel. Ocampo and Zumel could not be reached.

"It just so happened," said AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] public information officer Brigadier General Luis San Andres about the controversial timing of this arrest. Executive Secretary Joker Arroyo concurred, calling it "coincidental," stressing it was an "ordinary arrest" since "there was no ceasefire as yet."

A phone call got through to Arroyo, the morning of 1 October. A MABINI [Movement of Attorneys for Brotherhood, Integrity, and Nationalism, Inc.] colleague read a section of the Revised Penal Code to Arroyo, stipulating the protection of a citizen from arrest without a warrant.

Arroyo, says a source who was in the Palace at the time, banged the phone on his colleague.

Diokno on the phone to the president, offered to resign as government negotiator, calling the arrest "bad faith."

The president, accompanied by Mitra and Arroyo, prevailed on Diokno to rescind the offer.

At the start of these talks, both sides said, trust is the single most important precondition to any hope for peace. From the events that have transpired, trust seems most fragile, if not the most absent, element in the peace talks.

Capulong narrated how he was followed by two burly motorcyclists from Boni Serrano Avenue, alongside Camp Aguinaldo to Makati. He was then en route to a peace talk-related meeting.

It was another sign of the reasons why the negotiations for peace are like a bridge-building exercise across a steep and murderous abyss, surrounded now by darkness and howling winds of built-in obstacles.

[28 Oct 86 pp 1, 6]

[Article by Sylvia L. Mayuga--Third of a Series]

[Text] "By definition," says recently retired Brigadier General Jose Almonte, "the CPP [Communist Party of the Philippines-NPA-NDF [National Democratic Front] is a political movement that aims to seize power with a totality of means. To them, the end justifies the means.

"It follows, therefore, that if you offer them peace and reconciliation, they will take that as a chance to further their aims. For so long as that is so, they will never really accept reconciliation with any government, Cory's or anyone else's, on terms other than their own."

Almonte, a leading--if quiet--figure behind the EDSA [Epifinio de Los Santos Avenue] revolt, sums up in textbook style the prevailing AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] view of the leftist insurgency. Give or take personal political reasons and the itch to over speechify in wild headline-making, this is also the spine of Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile's defiance of the president's "soft approach" in the peace talks with the NDF.

Here, too, is the root of AFP conventional wisdom, the binding mythology that sends foot soldiers to battle with "CT's" (communist terrorists) and

"ST's" (subversive terrorists), allows the recycled NICA [National Intelligence Coordinating Agency] to resume bugging phones and--not so incidentally--gives the Marcos loyalists a script for their flagging street theater.

Almonte, once a key figure of the Presidential Center for Advanced Studies, hastens to correct any popular misimpression about a fundamental disagreement between the views of Ms Aquino and her defense minister on the nature of the hard Left. The difference, he says, is only in strategy and style.

Believing that the peace talks will fail and "only be taken advantage of by the CPP-NPA," Enrile wants immediate, concerted government action.

The president, as proven by both her U.S. Congress and UN speeches, is not naive about the insurgency. But her strategy--and style--is to exhaust all peaceful means first, a slower process which she hopes will lay a strong moral basis for, if need be, "laying down the olive branch of peace for the sword of war."

Time is ticking by fast for this approach, as the cracks in the president's campaign and victory coalition begin to show.

Meanwhile, military officials describe their view of the reality behind the peace talks:

1. Contrary to its claims, they say, the NDF is not an umbrella for the 12 revolutionary groups under its letter-head. It is actually the CPP that controls all these groups, with the NDF effectively relegated to the status of a "United Front Commission," much like the NPA is a "Military Commission" under the CPP.

This makes the military doubt the authority of Satur Ocampo and Tony Zumel as peace negotiators for the CPP-NPA since they, says Brigadier General Luis San Andres, "do not belong to the CPP top leadership."

(This view seems to have been the reason for the government panel's insistence in specifying that Ocampo and Zumel "represented the NDF-CPP-NPA" and not just "the NDF" in the draft proposal for security and immunity guarantees.)

2. The size of the CPP-NPA armed threat cannot be underestimated, officials say. San Andres says the figure is 14,000 to 15,000, possibly 16,000 by year's end. He adds that they've got this figure down to names, give or take a floating 5,000 for noms de guerre that change with their assignments.

Like many soldiers and a couple of officials, San Andres pays grudging tribute to the courage and cunning of the NPA regular who, he says, is worth 10 soldiers in terms of motivation, mobility and knowledge of terrain.

3. The military is making it a point of honor to resist one of the four NDP demands, the withdrawal of troops from "NDF-controlled" areas. Going by their

commander-in-chief's words in Davao last 23 May 1986, "There will be no ceasefire with return of the troops to the barracks that will leave the insurgents a free zone within which to operate with impunity."

Military figures say that there was a slight decrease in the daily death average of "CT's" while the average for troopers and civilians remained the same since after EDSA. "This," says the AFP command, "is due to the defensive stance of the New AFP."

Given that these figures do not come from the same intelligence source that fed Enrile with that yarn about Sergeant Gan and Captain Causapin's peeled soles at the hands of the NPA, the military has a case. (To be continued)

[29 Oct 86 pp 1, 7]

[Article by Sylvia L. Mayuga--Fourth in a Series]

[Text] "Tingnan naman ninyo," says NDF negotiator Antonio Zumel, "inimbita kami ng gobyernong makipag-usap. Tinanggap namin at pumunta kami sa bahay. Ang sabi sa 'min pagdating--diyan muna kayo sa labas ng bakod."

("Look, the government invited us to talk. We accepted the invitation and arrived at the house. They told us when we got there--wait outside.")

This is Zumel's folksy summing-up of the early stages of the peace talks with the NDF [National Democratic Front]. It is as much as reality as EDSA [Epifinio de los Santos Avenue], the red scare, political prisoners and new films at Victor Corpuz and Kumander Dante, heroes of the hard Left.

Alongside this summation is a confession from Carolina Malay-Ocampo of the NDF that she had looked forward to having Christmas cards this year, talking of ceasefire, at last.

Satur Ocampo says that what the NDF (which, in his book, is the umbrella of the CPP [Communist Party of the Philippines]-NPA wants is "a real ceasefire, not a propaganda ceasefire."

Most of the military sources believe that eventual rapproachement with the CPP-NPA is close to impossible because of years of blood debts. An AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] intelligence operative says: "A large part of the outcome depends on what the people want. It will depend on the struggle of the contending forces as well as the intensity of the involvement of other sectors--church, business, the professionals. There should be consultation with the highest of these sectors on this matter."

The best description for this attitude of the military on the peace talks and the ceasefire is: "bitin" [hanging in the air].

"There is ambiguity among field commanders," says a retired general. "In soldiering, it's either shoot or don't shoot. There are few gray areas. But we also know that military operations alone cannot solve insurgency."

Alongside the social, economic, and military solutions of the insurgency that the president and General Ramos have agreed upon, can there be areas of compromise--even cooperation--between the CPP-NPA and government?

Satur Ocampo says dismantling warlords' private armies might be one such area. "Why not?" says a young PC [Philippine Constabularity] officer. "We can all go down to the basics, with ideology becoming a second-stringer."

What about the struggle over "NDF-controlled" areas called by the military as "rebel infested territory"? This is a serious bone of contention, involving territorial imperatives, a basic instinct.

"Can you really claim that territory belongs to anybody when your objective is people?" asks the young PC officer. "Isn't what is important internal democratic space?"

What about the NDF demand for the dismantling of the CHDF [Civilian Home Defense Forces] as part of a ceasefire agreement?

"Partial dismantling of the CHDF, puede 'yan," says another AFP officer-in-the-know, "those with previous records, especially. As a matter of fact, many are already on the way to being dismantled."

The drift to the Right alarms many as much as the drift to the Left causes tensions. A young officer wishes to remind everyone who had been at EDSA--"The future politics, the future AFP, the future, period, depends on what people would like it to be. What we need is rapport, rapport on matters of mutual interest."

A retired general who was in Vietnam, [in] the United States during the last bases negotiations with Kissinger, Enrile, and Romulo, and in China when the Philippines opened diplomatic ties, and Russia on a psychism mission, comments: "It will all depend on what the people want."

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CARDINAL SIN SUPPORTS GOVERNMENT PEACE EFFORTS

HK031349 Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER in English 2 Nov 86 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ed C. Perpena]

[Text] Manila--Archbishop Jaime Cardinal Sin has come out in full support of the Aquino government's initiative for negotiation and dialog to solve the insurgency problem.

While acknowledging the right of the state to defend itself even militarily when necessary, Sin said, "I cannot but praise the preference for negotiation and dialog as a primary means of solving the insurgency problem and as being especially in conformity with the Gospel."

In a pastoral letter to be read today in all Catholic churches, Sin also called on Filipinos to reject the twin temptations of liberal capitalism and communism "which, even now, are causing untold miseries to our people."

Instead, he proposed that the Catholic faith should be put into vital practice, as it is our most valuable contribution as Christians for the rebuilding of society.

"Such a faith will move us all to avoid greed, to live simply, and share with the poor; our faith will tell us to shun violence--both the unbloody violence of unjust acts and social structures that result in poverty, deprivation, and death of millions, and the blood violence of arms (used in the name of national security or in terroristic activity) that have taken thousands of Filipino lives," Sin said.

In praising the government initiatives for dialog with the rebels, Sin quoted Pope John Paul II: "That those in conflict undertake and pursue a reflection on motives that compel them to seek by means of force with its consequence of human misery that which could be obtained instead through sincere negotiations and recourse to other means offered by law. [no closing quotes as published]

The Cardinal said he does not intend to prescribe any practical political or economic solutions to the country's problems, but qualified that "as pastor I would be amiss of my duty if I do not seek to convert through the church both the personal and collective conscience of the people."

Despite the changes ushered in by the February revolution, Sin said many people still go jobless and hungry, the majority still live below the poverty line, labor conflicts have not decreased, graft and corruption persist in many government offices, the NPA appears to have grown in strength and aggressiveness and the Mindanao problem continue to defy solution.

"Perhaps we expected the February miracle to continue, but God is now telling us that His work must truly be our own," he exhorted.

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CSO: 4200/117

GEN RAMOS LINKS SUBVERSIVES TO MANILA BOMBINGS

HK300312 Manila Far East Broadcasting Company in English 2300 GMT 29 Oct 86

[Text] Armed Forces Chief General Fidel Ramos linked subversive elements to the spate of bombings in Metro Manila the past week, but he said he ruled out the possibility that the bombings could be the start of the urban terrorism drive of the communist New People's Army [NPA] in Metro Manila. He said it could be that the subversives are just testing the military or they are testing their equipment. He added that it could also be possible that they are testing personnel. Ramos said what is important is that the authorities have immediately responded to investigate the bombings. Ramos also said there is now an honest effort by the military and police to catch the perpetrators.

Meantime Alexander Villalon, president of the Youth Action Development Organization, which was linked to the series of bombings in Makati the past few days, said it is a military frame-up. He vehemently denied the military imputation against him, saying that a certain Colonel Ocampo could have cooked up the story. In a press conference he held at his residence in Makati, Villalon said Ocampo charged him with direct assault and illegal possession of firearms on 14 December 1984. In retaliation, he said he also filed charges of arbitrary detention, attempted homicide, and conduct unbecoming an officer with the judge-advocate general's office in Camp Crame. Villalon said the countercharges he filed could have angered Ocampo, who consequently engineered a frame-up. The capital Regional Command, headed by Brigadier General Ramon Montano, also tagged Villalon as the leader of the urban terrorists operating in Metro Manila. He also denied the accusation.

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CSO: 4200/117

COAST GUARD SEIZES JOLO-BOUND EXPLOSIVES

HK291331 Manila THE MANILA TIMES in English 29 Oct 86 p 12

[Article by correspondent Vic M. Alvarez]

[Text] Zamboanga City--The 3d Coast Guard District here seized anew some 700 kilos of explosive ingredients ready for shipment to Jolo.

Captain Salvador Peran, district commander, in his report to Commodore Carlito Cunanan, Philippine Coast Guard commandant, said the explosive ingredients were inside 14 sacks on board a Ford Fiera when intercepted by "Task Force Hermosa" at the government wharf here.

The contraband was about to be loaded on a motor launch bound for Jolo.

Capt. Peran told THE MANILA TIMES that the owner of the contraband, Ibboh Gadjali of this city, was arrested for failure to present the ncessary papers for the shipment of the 700 kilos of Atlas urea.

In a related development, the Coast Guard detachment in Sitangkai, Tawi-Tawi, also seized 40 kilos of explosive ingredients abandoned at Tumindao pier, Sintangkai.

Capt. Peran said the two boxes of imported potassium chloride were believed to have arrived from Sabah, Malaysia and bound for Jolo.

Early this month, the Coast Guard here seized some 1,000 kilos of explosive ingredients bound for Jolo allegedly for use in a terror campaign.

Meanwhile, elements of the Task Force Hermosa confiscated high-powered firearms aboard a motorlaunch docked at the government's wharf in this city.

Capt. Peran said the Coast Guard seized 1 M-16, 1 M-203, and 2 M-1 garand rifles, 180 rounds of M-16 ammunition and 8 rounds of M-203 ammunition.

Peran said the firearms were found on board the m/1 Shella Weina, owned by Hadji Baid of Sulu.

The search was conducted after the task force was tipped off about the shipment.

Peran said the firearms were not covered by documents.

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CSO: 4200/117

DURANO'S PRIVATE ARMY REPORTED STILL OPERATING IN CEBU

Dando Mayor Cites Military Failure

HK310537 Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 23 Oct 86 pp 1, 10

[Text] Danao City Mayor Jovinal Almerdras yesterday said that the private army of the Duranos is intact and has never been dismantled.

Almendras disclosure contradicted the claim of Recom chief, Colonel Edgardo Abenina, that the Duranos do not have an army.

"It is common knowledge that the Duranos have an army and it is now the duty of the military to confiscate the firearms of the Duranos' men," Mayor Almendras said.

According to him, the Duranos have sophisticated firearms and these weapons have not been confiscated yet.

Realizing the difficulty in pin-pointing where the guns are being kept, Almendras suggested that the military should concentrate its effort to locate the places where the "high-powered guns" are placed.

Almendras lamented over what he termed failure of the military to implement President Corazon Aquino's order to confiscate the guns of political warlords in the country, including those of Duranos.

The president issued the order when she visited Cebu a few months after the February Revolution.

The Danao City chief executive also said his administration is not enjoying the support of the barangay captains, adding that the officials remain loyal to the Duranos.

He said despite the cold relationship between his administration and the barangay leaders, nothing has been done adverse against them by his administration.

He said he is doing this in the spirit of reconciliation.

Military Asks 'Complete' Details

HK310531 Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 24 Oct 86 pp 1, 10

[Text] Danao City Mayor Dr Jovenal Almendras was asked yesterday to provide the military complete information on the reported private army of Duranos which the mayor earlier said is still existing.

The request of the military was made through Recom [regional command] 7 Public Information Officer Captain Inocencio Sanchez.

Sanchez said that up to now the military continues it's intensified surveillance on the activities of Duranos, particularly their private army.

The Recom 7 official likewise denied reports that some members of the military are under the payroll of the Duranos.

Earlier, Mayor Almendras reported that the private army of the Duranos is intact and has never been dismantled.

Almendras also lamented over the failure of the military to implement the order of President Corazon Aquino to disarm the armies of political warlords in the country when the president visited Cebu a few days after the revolution.

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CSO: 4200/116

RAMOS STRESSES NEED TO PRESERVE CHAIN OF COMMAND

HK031329 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 1 Nov 86 pp 1, 2

[Article by staff members Lito Mangaser and Cristina Pastor]

[Text] General Fidel V. Ramos, Armed Forces chief of staff, said yesterday it was the military's duty to preserve the government's chain of command in which he and Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile were under the commander in chief, President Aquino.

Ramos also told newsmen in Camp Aguinaldo after a morning job [as published] with some 2,000 soldiers that the recent bombings in Metro Manila were the work of subversives not necessarily from the New People's Army.

He also said the NPA's armed city partisans were not a serious threat to Metro Manila, which ran counter to claims by some government and military officials, including Enrile, that the rebels have infiltrated the metropolis.

Later, in a taped television interview, Ramos said he was the one who advised Mrs Aquino to set a deadline for the cease-fire talks with the National Democratic Front (NDF) "to prevent more civilians from getting hurt."

He said he recommended a date for the deadline but would not "preempt" the president by announcing when the deadline would expire.

Ramos avoided taking sides with either Mrs Aquino or Enrile, and instead stressed the need for national unity. "My heart lies with the people," he said.

During the program, he took out three-section color photo which showed Mrs Aquino on top and Enrile and himself sharing the lower section.

Asked who the soldiers would follow in case of conflicting orders from the commander-in-chief and the defense minister, Ramos answered: "We have trained our soldiers that such a situation will not take place."

He said that the recent reconciliation meeting between the president and Enrile, with himself playing the mediator, was a "good beginning but which was not the way things had been reported."

"Huwag natin pagsabungin ang mga tao," [let us not blow up the people], he said.

The peace and order situation, he said, remained unresolved, adding that the country was "not as seaworthy as we would like it to be."

Ramos said government officials should emphasize "togetherness" instead of "spending so much energy wrangling with each other."

He described Mrs Aquino's anti-insurgency program as "very similar, if not identical, to what was worked during the late forties and early fifties" when a communist rebellion was crushed by the government.

Ramos placed the NPA strength at 23,000 guerrillas, with 11,900 firearms mostly seized from government soldiers.

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CSO: 4200/117

COLUMNIST WARNS AGAINST ENDANGERING PLURALISM

HK311055 Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 31 Oct 86 p 4

[Column by Renato Constantino: "Pluralism Endangered"]

[Text] During the electoral campaign against Marcos, Mrs Aquino promised a pluralistic society in which the articulation of all ideas would be allowed. In the initial days of her administration hopes were high that the days of suppression and censorship would be over.

Recent events, however, portend a serious constriction of democratic space as the shrill voices of mindless prejudice shout down attempts at a truly free and civilized debate.

In her desire to settle her rift with Minister Enrile, the president has unveiled a harder stance on the question of the insurgency, discomfitting even faithful middle-class Coryistas who had begun to internalize her own pleas for non-violence. The defense minister has escalated his warnings against a communist takeover. This has implanted fear in the minds of many and threatens to drown the voices of honest articulators of change.

At a time when Philippine society is plagued by crisis, at a time when everyone is talking about change, new ideas are being aired. But when the new is immediately equated with subversion and any unorthodox advocacy is labeled as communist, the promise of pluralism is vitiated.

Many Filipinos freeze when they hear the word communist, paralyzed by the fear of the unknown. For conservatives, the communist is the earthly equivalent of Satan pursuing godless ends.

Such a facile description is taken at face value by those who do not care to question. But there are independent-minded Filipinos who are beginning to ask questions. The danger is that in the process of questioning and articulating new ideas, they may be conveniently branded as communists, thus ending all intelligent discussion.

A healthy society is one where diversity is accepted, where free minds are accorded the opportunity to develop. In such a society, various points of view compete in the marketplace. It is a society where criticism is not equated with treason.

Many sectors of society call for a re-thinking of our problems and of the solutions hitherto offered for them. This is the one welcome consequence of the deteriorating state of our economy, our politics and our culture. It would impoverish us all in a most tragic way if proposals for new analytical frameworks and new solutions which should be the subject of serious dialog are instead immediately aborted by name-calling and their proponents pounced upon as subversives by the self-appointed protectors of the status quo. It is doubly tragic when masses of people victimized by this very status quo become its vociferous defenders.

When the left makes a proposal, conservatives react with alarm because they forget that society is not necessarily called upon to believe in their wisdom. A democratic society is merely called upon to grant these advocates their good intent, nothing more. They must be credited with the same goodwill as the holders of power. They too may be working for the general good.

A historical perspective would certainly help. In the past, the 8-hour day, unemployment compensation, paid vacations and even women's suffrage were "left" causes espoused by the fire-breathing radicals out to destroy society, according to the conservatives of the time. Today, these "causes" are part of conventional wisdom and the name-calling, the political persecution and the physical violence inflicted on the then bearers of subversive ideas is conveniently forgotten even as society benefits from their sacrifices.

To treat today's radicals automatically as mere conspirators out to do evil for its own sake, out to wrest power for the sole pleasure of inflicting harm will return us not only to Marcos' authoritarian regime but further back into a real fascist night.

To respect the good faith of these advocates does not mean to agree with them. We must deal with their arguments on their own merits; we must not discredit them with invective. To call them the enemies of democracy is to behave like the Romans "who condemned the Christians as atheists because they worshipped in a new way."

The escalating tempo of witch hunting and the threat of the president to use the military option has created a tense atmosphere and has activated sectors who strongly feel that a peaceful solution is an urgent necessity. Among these groups is the Progressive Organization of Teachers and Employes for Nationalist Transformation (POTENT).

A recent news item announced a POTENT project which could involve many sectors of the population. POTENT believes that by collecting the signatures of thousands who desire a peaceful solution it can help to make both the Aquino government and the insurgent forces realize that the people want the question settled without the loss of further blood. After all, Aquino acceded to become a candidate on the basis of one million signatures. If POTENT and as many other patriotic organizations as possible could collect millions of signatures, this would be the best way of making known the sentiment of the majority for a peaceful solution.

It is quite appropriate that POTENT, which is teacher-led, should have thought of this project. Teachers work with the youth of our land who will be the principal victims of civil war or the beneficiaries of peace.

It is of the most urgent importance that the promised pluralism is not aborted by the frenetic anti-communist crusade which now threatens to stifle every type of dissent.

/9599
CSO: 4200/117

ECONOMIC GROUP JOINS FORCES WITH KMU UNION

HK301305 Manila THE MANILA BULLETIN in English 30 Oct 86 p 8

[Text] The National Economic Protectionism Association (NEPA) and the Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU) [1 May Movement] signed yesterday a joint communique calling for "concrete mechanisms" to ease management-labor problems within a framework of a "basic unity against foreign impositions that adversely affect both sectors."

NEPA President Salvador M. Enriquez, Jr. and KMU Chairman Rolando Olalia signed the communique.

The statement called for:

1. Joint and active opposition to IMF-WB-sponsored policies and programs, including the policy of trade liberalization and an impending peso devaluation that will prejudice the interests of Filipino enterprises and cause further unemployment.

2. The creation of a formal mechanism to maintain industrial peace, particularly in the medium- and small-scale Filipino industries.

3. A policy giving special consideration and protection for such newly established industries.

Enriquez declared that genuine economic recovery should at all times be promised on the achievement of economic independence and sovereignty.

"Dependence on the dictates of foreign policies on our economy will only worsen the plight of the Filipino people, as the last 20 years of Marcos rule has shown," he said.

Olalia said his labor center was prepared to exhaust all means to resolve industrial disputes arising between Filipino businessmen and labor, within the framework of a "policy of maximum restraint."

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CSO: 4200/117

BRIEFS

FORMER MARCOS 'LAPDOGS' SCORED--There are people around Cory today who have been former Marcos Lapdogs. Is it not true that Minister Mitra was a stooge of the Cojuangcos in the Unicom [United Coconut Manufacturing Corp.]? Was Maceda not a secretary of President Marcos? Did Marcos not rely on Villafuerte? Did Romualdez not bank on Jaime Ongpin and Jaime Fernandez? Is Concepcion not a fair-haired boy of the foreigners? All these new OIC's [officers-in-charge] and directors who were under Marcos should be replaced with people who are truly sincere in serving the Filipino people. If Cory continues with these, there will be no unity because the orientation of these particular officials is not for the Filipinos but for their masters the foreigners and for their own aggrandizement. [Text] [Cebu VISAYAN HERALD in English 21 Oct 86 p 8] /9599

CHANGES IN OMNIBUS ELECTION CODE--The Commission on Elections [Comelec] says it has proposed new changes in the omnibus election code that will govern the general administration of the forthcoming election. Comelec Chairman Ramon Felipe said the poll body has proposed that political parties no longer be represented in the board of inspectors, unlike in previous presidential and vice presidential elections. He said only three teachers will compose the board of inspectors. The proposed changes, he said, are contained in the draft executive order to be signed by President Aquino. [Text] [Manila Far East Broadcasting Company in English 2300 GMT 30 Oct 86] /9599

CSO: 4200/117

OFFICIALS FORESEE TOUGH TALKS WITH U.S. ON TOBACCO

BK070215 Bangkok THE NATION in English 7 Nov 86 pp 1, 2

[Text] Thai and U.S. officials are gearing up for another serious struggle to break the state tobacco monopoly in Thailand later this month when a U.S. congressional team, which will include Republican Ed Jenkins who authored the controversial Jenkins Bill, visits Bangkok.

The United States views the state tobacco monopoly as an "obvious unfairness" and the U.S. congressional delegation will certainly raise this question in talks with Thai officials here, said an informed U.S. source.

"It makes free trade difficult," the source added.

For several years, Thailand has refused to let foreign cigarette and tobacco firms enter the Thai market.

The Tuesday election saw the Democrats gain control of the U.S. Senate, in addition to the U.S. House of Representatives. This development has brought a new sense of urgency among some Thai officials who are concerned that the Democrat-controlled Congress may try to solve the trade problem with Thailand by itself.

The U.S. Embassy in Bangkok has urged the Thai Government to review its policy regarding the tobacco monopoly.

Several American cigarette and tobacco firms, including Philip Morris, have shown a strong interest in entering into a joint venture with the Thailand Tobacco Monopoly (TTM) to grow high-grade tobacco, produce low nicotine cigarettes for sale in Thailand and for export to neighbouring countries.

The Americans often argue that the monopoly goes against the principles of free trade. It also contradicts the Thai policy of welcoming foreign investment and modern technology.

The Foreign Ministry has shown some understanding to the American argument but it wants the Finance Ministry to make a decision.

The Finance Ministry is reportedly still reviewing the monopoly policy.

The TTM, however, has insisted that it does not want to share its lucrative business with any outsiders.

Some Thai officials have expressed concern that the Congress may put additional pressure on Thailand by threatening to cut Thai interests under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP).

The United States has shown dissatisfaction with a lack of adequate protection for American intellectual property rights in Thailand. The United States has also complained about high import duties on soybean and cotton in Thailand.

/12232
CSO: 4200/114

PAPER WARNS OF 'PROTECTIONIST CLOUDS' IN U.S.

BK1000038 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 10 Nov 86 p 4

[Editorial: "Protectionist Clouds Gather in United States"]

[Text] Even before last Tueaday's midterm elections, protectionism had already become an ugly word in relations between the United States and the rest of the world. But with the resurgence of the Democratic Party in both Houses of the U.S. Congress, things are expected to get worse. Indeed, the Democrats lost no time in promising swift action on the long-simmering trade issue which is threatening to erupt as the U.S. trade deficit approaches something like $200,000 million this year. "The number one issue will be trade," says leading Democratic Senator Lloyd Bentsen. "We are looking at an incredible deficit in trade and it's draining wealth from this country and exporting jobs."

There is no doubt that concern exists in Thailand and other countries regarding possible action the United States might take. The American Ambassador to Thailand, William Brown, did not seem to think that the problem was so serious, however. Hoping to allay the fears, he even suggested that the protectionist trend might not continue next year. "I am personally unaware of any single person at this stage who was either elected or defeated on any specific trade or protectionism, fair trade issue," said Mr Borwn. The administration's position had been clearly demonstrated and, if it should come to the crunch, Mr Brown is sure that "the president will, as he has in the past, vigorously combat and if necessary veto any blatantly protectionist measure."

Of course we have no doubt that this is what the Reagan Administration intends to do, but it would be better if we can avoid it altogether. The next question is whether veto power alone would be sufficient this time around. But the Congress must be made aware of the consequences of its actions--namely that it would have adverse effects in America itself, as well as in the rest of the world. If America is to close its doors, inflation is certain to paralyse the American economy; its people would be forced to spend more on the basic necessities of life which they can get cheaper from outside. As a result, President Reagan's plan to revive the economic strength of the country would suffer a setback from which recovery would be well-nigh impossible.

Lest it be forgotten, the developing countries of the Asia and Pacific region--and for that matter from the rest world--are not going to sit still. Certainly they have already thought of doing something about the matter and their combined strength, plus that of the so-called newly industrialising countries, is not to be taken lightly should they want to fight back.

Also around the corner and lying in wait is the principal opponent of the United States which has an equal, if not more, purchasing power. With the new thrust in foreign policy that is so evident, it is not beyond the realms of possibility that the Soviet Union would try to fish in troubled waters. Last year when the ominous cloud of the Jenkins Bill was hanging over Thailand, the Soviet Union expressed an interest in buying textiles from this country to make up for the loss which we might suffer from the American market. Fortunately, it was an offer which drew only a lukewarm response from Thailand.

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CSO: 4200/114

TROOPS CLASH WITH REBEL INTRUDERS FROM BURMA

BK070839 Bangkok BANGKOK WORLD in English 7 Nov 86 p 32

[Text] Chiang Mai--A Thai Border Patrol Policeman (BPP) was seriously wounded in a fierce gunfight with Wa and Kuomintang intruders at Ban Pang Ton Dua in Mae Ai District last night.

According to a report reaching Chiang Mai this morning, a 300-strong combined force of the Wa National Army and Kuomintang had been attacking a stronghold of drug kingpin Khun Sa on Doi Land and the fighting had spilled over into Thai territory.

The report said the two minority groups began attacking the Shan United Army [SUA] stronghold of Khun Sa on Doi Lang inside Burma from 4 pm yesterday with AK47 rifles, M16s, recoilless guns, M79 grenade launches and mortars but the SUA had put up strong resistance.

Many shells and bullets landed in the Thai village and forced some 100 people to dive for cover. Many of them abandoned their houses for the safety of Mai Ai District town.

Village defence volunteers at the village radioed for help from the BPP base at Mae Ai some 10 kilometres away and about 50 BPP troopers were sent to provide protection to the villagers.

While the BPP was about to enter the village at 7 pm, they ran into an unknown number of the Wa and Kuomintang which had intruded into the village after meeting strong repulse from the SUA.

The intruders opened fire on the BPP and a 30-minute gunfight followed before the foreign troops retreated back into Burma.

Police Lance Corporal Sinchai Pusua was hit in the hip by an M79 shrapnel and was sent to Chiang Mai Provincial Hospital for treatment.

The report said there was no casualty among the villagers.

The BPP and the Third Army this morning sent more reinforcement to the village to monitor the situation as fighting is still continuing at Doi Lang late this morning.

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CSO: 4200/114

PREM REMARKS ON 'SANCTITY' OF PREMIERSHIP SCORED

BK040317 Bangkok THE NATION in English 4 Nov 86 p 4

[From the "Bangkokian" column: "Sacred Spot"]

[Text] Now it's out. Premier Prem [Tinsulanon] said it during his informal lunch meeting with newspaper editors last Friday. And it explains a lot of things.

The prime minister said something like "the premiership should be an institution of certain degree of sanctity."

Now we know why he considers himself above politics; why he won't stand for elections; why he won't join any political party.

The point of course is that Pa Prem himself fits the bill perfectly as the occupant of such a position, if we consider the post near-sacred or exalted or inviolate.

Then he continued with "I'm not talking about myself as premier, it doesn't matter who is prime minister but the premiership should be given a proper status."

Obviously, Pa Prem is setting a precedent or an example of how the occupant of the position should conduct himself and how he should treat the position. Premier Prem of course is a tough act to follow. And the next premier might find it almost impossible to measure up to his standard.

By Bangkokian thinks that the premier should expand the concept. Before he goes he ought to see to it that the Cabinet should also be an institution invested with a certain degree of sanctity.

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CSO: 4200/114

SITTHI COMMENTS ON SURAT RESIGNATION

BK070311 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 7 Nov 86 p 3

[Text] Social Action Party [SAP] leader Sitthi Sawetsila yesterday hailed outgoing Commerce Minister Surat Osathanukhro as a "gentleman of high political spirit" for deciding to step down.

ACM [Air Chief Marshal] Sitthi quoted Pol Capt [Police Captain] Surat as telling him: "I sacrifice myself for the government's survival and for our party to continue to work to solve problems for the people."

The SAP leader said he had told Prime Minister Prem Tinsulananon about the resignation. "It is now up to the discretion of the prime minister to take further steps."

Recalling the background to the Surat affair, ACM Sitthi said they met at Don Muang Airport on 11 October as he was returning from the United Nations and Japan and Pol Capt Surat was leaving for Iran.

Since there was little time to talk, ACM Sitthi said he told Pol Capt Surat he would consider his case on his return.

However, political pressure for Pol Capt Surat's resignation mounted while he was in Iran and affected the noconfidence vote in the House of Representatives.

ACM Sitthi said Pol Capt Surat told him on his return from Iran that he wanted to resign immediately after the vote to demonstrate his innocence to save his image.

"This shows the gentlemanliness and high political spirit of Pol Capt Surat in accordance with the democratic system," said ACM Sitthi, who considered the pressure for his resignation unfair.

The Surat issue was discussed in the party and it was agreed the SAP would stay in the coalition and regard the case as "personal" and a matter for the minister's judgment.

ACM Sitthi said the SAP was fully behind Pol Capt Surat in his handling of the timber issue "but attempts and movements to effect political changes had not ceased."

To ease politician [as published] tension and to improve public understanding of the government and for the relief of all parties concerned, he said Pol Cap Surat decided to quit, effective today.

With Pol Cap Surat's exit, ACM Sitthi said he hoped the political situation would improve.

Regarding a successor, ACM Sitthi said he was delegated by the party to make his own choice.

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CSO: 4200/114

COLUMNIST ON MILITARY'S 'CLOUT' IN DEMOCRACY

BK041415 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 4 Nov 86 p 4

[Chatchai Yenbamrung commentary: "The Military's Clout in Growth of Democracy"]

[Text] The relieving of General Athit Kamiang-ek from his post as army commander-in-chief last May without any unpleasant aftermath, and the simultaneous appointment of General Chawalit Yongchaiyut to that powerful position, has [as published] brought about a feeling that the future of democracy will be brighter.

Rifts between the government and some military leaders have since been healed and harmony has returned to their relationship.

A case in point is the formation of the Prem V Government in which the military played an indispensable role in the continuance of Gen Prem's tenure.

It is true, however, that Gen Prem's own popularity and mandate from the powers-that-be were also relevant factors.

Civilian leaders like Phichai Rattakun, whose party won an impressive number of seats in the Lower House, realised their shortcomings in comparison to Gen Prem's overwhelming qualifications, and readily accepted the "chosen choice," even at the risk of swallowing their own campaign promises.

None of them had the courage to opt for a second choice, except a few Opposition figures without any hope to be included in the new coalition line-up. One wonders what would have happened had Mr Phichai attempted a fight for premiership. In the event, however, he did not, even though it was a just cause for the leader of the party with the largest number of seats in the House, which was what was said during the campaign.

"Politicans think of their own survival first and last," an MP said recently.

Barely 3 months after the government was formed, the Democrats blew apart what they had so painstakingly achieved before the elections. Mr Phichai's own political career is believed to have been wrecked beyond repair.

The Social Action Party is caught in a political quagmire with the imminent departure of its prominent financier Surat Osathanukhro from the Commerce Ministry.

With all the troubles arising from coalition parties, Gen Prem's position appears to be stronger than ever. His increasing confidence to speak out as the government leader has shown that not only has he grown into the job but also that he has things under his control, at least for now.

The surprise comment by Gen Chawalit on the Surat affair led some people to view that as a sign of rift between him and the prime minister. Those around the premier dismissed such a scenario.

They even hinted at the possibility of Gen Prem giving an approval to such a remark by the general. The Prime Minister, asked about Mr Surat's fate at the last week's press conference, merely said he didn't want a confrontation, which was quite clear to all where he stands on the issue. It is also clear that Mr Surat cannot stay on under present circumstances.

Then came a warning from the army chief about the deteriorating political situation after the last general elections and a possible resurgence of the Communist Party of Thailand [CPT]. He specifically said that the CPT is bouncing back and could launch a new round of armed struggle, if the political situation is not corrected. The conditions are there, he said.

The democratic force, he said, has been outdone by the communists and their sympathisers since the elections. He said the government must stress the development of democracy and asked for a higher standard of performance and dedication from the government and coalition parties.

The words were contained in his report to the prime minister during the last week's report on communist suppression at the Supreme Command.

The CPT was nearly extinct in our minds until the Army chief mentioned it. Why he linked the CPT's strength with the recent political development is open to interpretation.

His other interesting point is that the armed forces have lost their credibility by interfering in many areas where they have made little or no progress due to poor planning.

Over a month ago, Gen Chawalit, while pledging support for the parliamentary system, mentioned the "national power" and the "uniformity of ideas" as ways to tackle the country's problems. He said then that a coup was impossible as long as he was around.

At that time, he already warned of the internal threat and conditions conducive to the growth of communism.

These statements raised rather than answered many questions on the general's political scheme. Many people believe that he is being groomed to become Gen Prem's successor under the parliamentary system. Others are fond of talking about the so-called "national government" which could bring about the national power or the uniformity of ideas as he wishes.

Whatever his plan may be, it is always hoped that the power of the democratic force will not be taken too lightly because a disruption of the process could usher in his worst fears--an armed conflict.

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CSO: 4200/114

EXPORT EARNINGS RISE DURING FIRST 10 MONTHS

BK070253 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 7 Nov 86 p 15

[Text] In the first 10 months of this year, the total value of Thai exports rose by 17.39 percent, while that of imports went down by 6.28 percent, when compared to the same period in 1985, the Business Economics Department reported.

It said that as a direct result of the higher export and lower import values, Thailand's trade deficit during January-October 1986 decreased by 80.54 percent from last year to about 10,000 million baht.

The total value of exports for the whole of this year is expected to be about 225,000 million baht and that of imports about 242,000 million baht, so the total trade deficit is expected to be about 17,500 million baht, 69.73 percent less than last year.

In the first 10 months of this year, the country's exports brought in about 189,300 million baht, 28,036.7 million baht higher than in the first 10 months of 1985.

Thailand major export items were tapioca (up 26.77 percent), ready-made garments (up 32.23 percent), electrical circuit boards (up 59.80 percent), precious stones and jewelry (up 37.89 percent), canned seafood (up 48.85 percent), maize (up 20.52 percent), sugar (up 22.35 percent), shoes (up 33.09 percent) and frozen shrimps (up 26.90 percent).

Particularly notable are the increases in earnings from frozen chicken, raw coffee and frozen squids: 97 percent, 103.99 percent and 71.82 percent, respectively.

The export items whose earnings are expected to drop are rice (down 18.11 percent), tin (down 49.93 percent), liquefied natural gas (down 36.77 percent) and jute products (down 22.18 percent).

Meanwhile, the export prices of many items have dropped considerably, especially those of LNG (down 50.80 percent), tin (down 22.27 percent), maize (down 17.43 percent) and canned pineapple (down 19.56 percent).

The highest increases in export volumes are expected for fishery and industrial products: 33.64 percent and 25.52 percent respectively.

Agricultural exports have managed only a small rise of 4.4 percent, while mineral and fuel exports declined by 42.01 percent.

The total value of imports in the first 10 months of this year was 199,300 million baht, down by 13,357 million baht or 6.28 percent from the same period last year.

This can be explained by the drop in the cost of imported fuel oil whose value fell by 37.53 percent due to a 40 percent decline in its price.

Moreover, imports of vehicles, capital goods, raw materials and semiprocessed goods fell by 13.67 percent, 1.5 percent and 1.36 percent respectively.

The import items which showed large increases were raw tuna for canneries (up 100 percent), while imports of jewelry, diamonds and silver ingot used for producing ornaments rose by 40 percent.

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CSO: 4200/114

BRIEFS

SOVIET NATIONAL DAY GREETED--Thai Prime Minister General Prem Tinsulanon sent a congratulatory message to chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR on the occasion of the National Day today. In his message, Gen Prem said: On behalf of the government and people of Thailand, I have the honor to convey to your excellency and through you to the people of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics our warmest congratualtions and sincere best wishes for the continued progress and prosperity of your country and people on the auspicious occasion of the National Day. It is my earnest desire to maintain and further promote the friendly relations between our two countries for mutual benefits. [Text] [Bangkok Voice of Free Asia in English 1500 GMT 7 Oct 86 BK] /12232

JAPANESE AID--Japan has granted a 5,566 million yen aid to Thailand for four projects this year. Notes relating to the grant were exchanged on 21 October in Bangkok. Up to 2,322 million yen will be used for construction of the Thai Cultural Center. About 712 million yen will go to expand an institute of technology. About 621 million yen will be for construction of a national water works technology training center and the remaining about 1,911 million yen will finance the final stage of construction of the Metal Working and Machinery Institute. [Summary] [Bangkok Voice of Free Asia in English 1500 GMT 27 Oct 86 BK] /12232

AIR ACCORD WITH CANADA--Thailand and Canada have reached an aviation agreement allowing two Canadian airlines and Thai International to operate between the two countries over both the Pacific and Atlantic routes. Under the agreement, Thailand will allow two Canadian national flag carriers--Air Canada and Canadian Pacific Airlines--to each operate three flights a week between Thailand and Canada. In return, Thai International will operate three flights a week to Canada each over the Pacific and Atlantic. [Summary] [Bangkok Voice of Free Asia in English 1500 GMT 31 Oct 86 BK] /12232

CANADIAN, FRG AVIATION ACCORDS--After over a year of negotiations, Thailand and Canada have finally reached a full aviation agreement allowing two Canadian airlines and Thai International [THAI] to operate between the two countries over both the Pacific and Atlantic routes. At the same time, Thailand also concluded another air deal with West German aviation authorities for THAI to operate to Dusselforf on the Bangkok-Stockholm-Dusseldorf route after a breakdown in air talks held earlier this year in West Germany. [Excerpt] [Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 31 Oct 86 BK] /12232

ASEAN TRADE DOWN--The value of trade between Thailand and five other ASEAN member states registered a decline of 11.6 percent in the first 6 months of this year compared with the same period last year, according to the statistics released by the Board of Trade. It said Thai, ASEAN trade in the first half of 1986 amounted to 34.4 billion baht as against 38.9 billion baht in the same period last year. The decrease was attributed to the decline in Thailand's imports to other countries. In the first half of this year, Thailand's imports from other ASEAN nations were estimated at 18.5 billion baht, a 22.6 percent drop compared with the same period last year. [Text] [Bangkok THE NATION in English 4 Nov 86 p 19 BK] /12232

TWO NEW EMBASSIES APPROVED--The Cabinet yesterday approved the establishment of two Thai embassies in Muscat in Oman and at Oslo in Norway during the next fiscal year. The Cabinet agreed that [the] two countries have good relationship with Thailand both politically and economically. The embassies will look after the interests of thai people residing in the two countries and nearby countries as well. The embassies will also help promote economic and trade relations with those countries as well. [Text] [Bangkok BANGKOK WORLD in English 5 Nov 86 p 3 BK] /12232

INSURGENCY IN SOUTH--The Fourth Army Region has successfully cracked down on the activities of communist insurgents and other terrorists in southern provinces. Commander of the Fourth Army Region Lieutenant General Wisit Atkhumwong said the government forces continued to suppress the remaining communist insurgents and had adopted a policy of allowing politics to lead military measures. As a result, he said, a large number of insurgents had given themselves up to the authorities. According to Lt Gen Wisit, only 200 to 250 communist insurgents are currently operating in the south compared to 2,800 to 300 [as heard] previously. The number of other terrorists has also been reduced from 1,900 to only 250 at present. Regarding the Communist Party of Malaya, or CPM, Lt Gen Wisit said the Fourth Army Region has launched a large-scale attack against CPM members since early this month. The operation which began in Yala Province has destroyed nine CPM camps and helped improve the situation in southern provinces. [Text] [Bangkok Domestic Service in English 0000 GMT 11 Nov 86 BK] /12232

FOREIGN MINISTER TO VISIT PRC--Foreign Minister Air Chief Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila told reporters after a cabinet meeting on Tuesday [4 November] that the agenda for talks during his upcoming visit to the PRC at the end of this month has already been arranged. Included are discussions on various topics, although the Cambodian issue still seems to be the major issue. Asked whether the Sino-Soviet normalization talks will be discussed, Foreign Minister Sitthi said that he will raise the matter. Asked whether he will brief the other ASEAN foreign ministers on details of his talks with the Chinese, he replied that it would not be necessary because the issues to be discussed will be matters of bilateral concern to Thailand and China. Foreign Minister Sitthi stressed that the major purpose of his visit is aimed at promoting countertrade between the two nations. There will also be talks on various joint ventures. Many businessmen from the private sector will accompany the delegation. [Text] [Bangkok ZHONG HUA RIBAO in Chinese 6 Nov 86 p 4] /9599

CSO: 4205/5

HUN SEN RECEIVES SRV DISABLED SOLDIERS MINISTRY DELEGATION

BK071245 Phnom Penh SPK in English 1138 GMT 7 Nov 86

[Text] Phnom Penh SPK 7 November--Kampuchean Premier Hun Sen received in Phnom Penh Wednesday the delegation of the Vietnamese Ministry of Disabled Soliders and Social Affairs, led by Minister Song Hao, which arrived in Phnom Penh on 30 October for an 8-day friendship visit to Kampuchea.

Premier Hun Sen welcomed the delegation's visit and highly valued the fruitful cooperation between the Vietnamese Ministry of Disabled Soldiers and Social Affairs and the Kampuchean Ministry of War Invalids and Social Action.

For his part, Song Hao, expressed his joy at the great efforts made by the Kampuchean ministry in rendering support and care for the Kampuchean disabled combatants and supportless children left behind by the Pol Pot clique. He said that the Vietnamese side would do its best to help its Kampuchean counterpart between the Vietnamese and Kampuchean parties and governments.

While in Kampuchea, the Vietnamese minister had working sessions with his Kampuchean counterpart, Mam Sabun, and visited places of interest, museums, orphanages in Phnom Penh and provinces, a centre for invalids in Kien Svay, Kandal Province, and the Angkor Wat temple in Siem Reap-Oddar Meanchey Province.

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CSO: 4200/114

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

HENG SAMRIN GREETS ALBANIAN PARTY CONGRESS

BK061437 Phnom Penh SPK in English 1132 GMT 6 Nov 86

[Text] Phnom Penh SPK 6 November—Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Reovlutionary Party of Kampuchea, has sent warmest greetings to the Ninth National Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour (APL).

The message reads:

"Over the past 45 years, the Albanian people under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour and bringing into full play their tradition of heroic struggle, have surmounted numerous difficulties and made great successes in their socialist construction, thus turning the People's Socialist Republic of Albania into a socialist country with modern industry and agriculture.

"We are firmly convinced that the resolutions of the Ninth APL Congress will lead the Albanian people to new great successes so as to build Albania into a prosperous country and to contribute to the world people's struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress.

"The KPRP and the Kampuchean people express thier profound gratitude to the APL and the Albanian people for their fine sentiments and warm support for Kampuchea's just struggle.

"May the ties of friendship and solidarity between the parties, governments and peoples of Kampuchea and Albania further develop and consolidate and the congress of the APL be crowned with great success."

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CSO: 4200/114

HENG SAMRIN RECEIVES NEW BULGARIAN AMBASSADOR

BK061441 Phnom Penh SPK in English 1128 GMT 6 Nov 86

[Text] Phnom Penh SPK 6 November--The all-round multiform ties of cooperation and fraternal friendship between Kampuchea and Bulgaria have been incessantly strengthened and developed, noted President Heng Samrin in his meeting in Phnom Penh Wednesday afternoon with new Bulgarian Ambassador Leon Yossifov Beraha who presented his credentials.

The Kampuchean leader warmly welcomed the Bulgarian diplomat and expressed gratitudes to the party, government and people of Bulgaria for their support and assistance to the Kampuchean people in national defence and construction.

He also spoke of the comprehensive achievements scored by the Kampuchean people in the past nearly 8 years and of the steady advance of the Kampuchean revolution. President Hang Samrin pointed to the inevitable failure of the Pol Pot clique in disguise as "Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea" despite the fact that it has been nurtured and backed by the Thai ultrarightists and other international reactionary forces.

In reply, L. Vossifov Beraha, after hailing the achievements made by the Kampuchean people, reaffirmed the Bulgarian party, government and people's support for the Kampuchean people in their national defence and reconstruction. He pledged to do his best to further promote the fraternal cooperation between the two countries.

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CSO: 4200/114

SRV PLANNING DELEGATION LEAVES AFTER WEEK-LONG VISIT

BK071322 Phnom Penh SPK in English 1134 GMT 7 Nov 86

[Text] Phnom Penh SPK 7 November--A delegation of the State Planning Commission of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, left Phnom Penh Thursday morning after a week-long friendship visit to Kampuchea.

The delegation led by Ho Ngoc Nguong, vice chairman of the commission, was seen off at Pochentong Airport by Keo Samut, deputy minister of planning; and other Kampuchean officials, [as well] as by Nguyen Anh Kieu, Vietnamese charge d'affaires a.i. to Kampuchea. While in Kampuchea, the delegation held talks with a Kampuchean delegation led by Chea Chanto, first deputy minister of planning, and was received by Chea Soth, vice premier and minister of planning.

Minutes of economic and cultural cooperation for 1987 between the two countries were also signed. Under the documents the two sides will work out plans to promote cooperation in rubber processing, forest exploitation, the restoration of communications network, geological surveys and in training Kampuchean technicians.

The delegation also visited Chrouy Changva Bridge, which is now under repair with the help from Vietnam, a textile mill in Phnom Penh and the Angkor Wat temple in Siem Reap Province.

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CSO: 4200/114

CHEA SIM ATTENDS MEETING ON LAND TILLING

BK110950 Phnom Penh SPK in English 1116 GMT 10 Nov 86

[Text] Phnom Penh, SPK, 10 November--The Kampuchea Federation of Trade Unions and the Ministry of Agriculture have jointly organized in Phnom Penh a meeting to review the work of mechanical ploughing in 1986 in the presence of Chea Sim, Politburo member of the Peoples Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea Central Committee and chairman of both the National Assembly and the National Council of the United Front for Construction and Defence of the Kampuchean Fatherland.

In the 2-day meeting from 6-7 November the participants exchanged their experiences in ploughing in the main cropping season (monsoon) by tractors done by 45 units and individuals. Addressing the meeting, Chairman Chea Sim highly appreciated the success recorded in 1986, the 1st year of the implementation of the First 5-Year Programme of socio-economic rehabilitation and development (1986-1990). He also praised in particular the efforts made by the tractor operators and cadres of services concerned. He laid stress in new tasks for 1987.

He said: In spite of many difficulties brought about by unfavourable weather, the lack of raw materials and equipment and by enemies sabotage activities, the four spearheads of the national economy have been developed resulting in remarkable changes in the country: food, industrial crop, rubber production, exportation, communications and transport, etc. have been stepped up as compared with previous years.

Chea Sim also urged the trade union organizations of all levels to closely cooperate with the administration so as to step up production and to create favourable conditions for farmers.

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PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

BRIEFS

PALESTINIAN FRONT DELEGATION ARRIVES--Phnom Penh SPK 4 November--A delegation of the Democratic Front of the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) led by Yasser Abed Rabbo, Politburo member and assistnat secretary-general of the DFLP arrived here yesterday for a 4-day official friendship visit to Kampuchea. The delegation was warmly greeted on its arrival by Prach Sun, vice president of the Commission for External Relations of the People's Revolutionary Party Kampuchea Central Committee; and other Kampuchean officials. [Text] [Phnom Penh SPK in English 1057 GMT 4 Nov 86 BK] /12232

SRV PLANNING DELEGATION RECEIVED--Phnom Penh SPK 6 November--Chea Soth, vice premier and minister of planning, has cordially received in Phnom Penh a visiting delegation [of] the Vietnamese State Committee for Planning led by Vice Chairman Ha Ngoc Nguong. Chea Soth, also Politburo member of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea Central Committee, appreciated the fruitful elations and multiform cooperation between Kampuchea and Vietnam, he pointed to the mutual benefits brought about by flourishing ties of cooperation between the two governments and peoples, remarkably in good exchanges which were carried out in furtherance of the Kampuchean-Vietnamese economic cooperation agreement. Referring to the cooperation in forestry he said that joint efforts should be made in vegetal protection, working out measures against noxious insects, in epiphytical elimination and afforestation. In reply, Ha Ngoc Nguong shared the Kampuchean official's view and pledged to do all he could to promote the mutual interests of Vietnam and Kampuchea. The Vietnamese delegation arrived in Phnom Penh Friday for a week-long friendship visit. [Text] [Phnom Penh SPK in English 1100 GMT 6 Nov 86 BK] /12232

CSO: 4200/114

SRV DELEGATE SPEAKS AT UN INFORMATION DEBATE

OW090831 Hanoi VNA in English 0725 GMT 9 Nov 86

[Text] Hanoi VNA 9 November--During the past 10 years, developing countries, especially the non-aligned countries, with their joint and concerted efforts, have carried out a tireless struggle for the establishment of a new international information and communication order, said Ambassador Bui Xuan Nhat, acting head of the Vietnam permanent mission to the United Nations, at a UN debate last Thursday on international information.

The ambassador said:

"Awakened to the unjust nature of the existing outmoded world information and communication order, the nonaligned countries, out of their wish and determination to change, gave birth 10 years ago to the concept of a new world information and communication order on the basis of the free and balance flow of information... we remain of the view that measures must be taken to accelerate the process of establishing a new world information and communication order, in which the task of assisting the developing countries to strengthen their communication and information infrastructure assumes special importance. [quotation marks as received] Ambassador Bui Xuan Nhat praised UNESCO's considerable contributions to strengthening the international cooperation in the fields of education, science, culture and information over the past 40 years, he said:

"On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of UNESCO, we express our complete approval of the recommendation, submitted by the delegation of the People's Republic of Mongolia, saying that the UN General Assembly should reaffirm its full support to the efforts UNESCO has been exerting in the field of information, and the Department of Public Information should pay particular attention to this event and make better use of this information, and make better use of that anniversary for the dissemination of information on the establishment of a new world information and communication order."

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CSO: 4200/115

UN ENVOY SUPPORTS AFGHAN PROPOSALS FOR DIALOGUE

OW071854 Hanoi VNA in English 1532 GMT 7 Nov 86

[Text] Hanoi VNA 7 November--Vietnam fully supports practical proposals made by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan relating to dialogue with its neighbours and other concerned issues.

In a recent UN debate Ambassador Bui Xuan Nhat highlighted the recent pull-out of six Soviet regiments from Afghanistan as an expression of good will of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan aimed at reaching a political solution to the Afghan issue.

The acting head of Vietnam's permanent mission to the UN said that the debate in the general assembly on the so-called "situation in Afghanistan" was a "futile exercise and it only benefits the political manoeuvre of certain countries. Realities have been distroted, good will has been misused. We should not allow it to happen again. Draft Resolution A/41/112 selectively referred to only one aspect of the issue while ignoring the others which my delegation considers as the core of the matter, namely the cessation of the undeclared war and all acts of outside intervention in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. As a biased and one-sided draft, it won't help but rather harm the negotiated process, it won't encourage flexibility but rather instransigence."

The Vietnamese ambassador concluded by saying. "It is high time that the General Assembly adopted a new approach so as to contribute positively to the process of dialogue aimed at defusing tension in the region and concluding agreements on a political solution to the situation, in the interest of peace, stability and friendship between peoples in the region and the world over."

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CSO: 4200/115

NHAN DAN COMMENTS ON THAI ROLE IN CAMBODIA

OW090913 Hanoi VNA in English 0719 GMT 9 Nov 86

[Text] Hanoi VNA 9 November--In a commentary today NHAN DAN urges the Thai authorities to show positive attitude toward the settlement of the Kampuchean issue and respond to legitimate demands of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

Recalling Thai troops' land-grabbing attacks on Hill 537 inside Kampuchean territory on 15 October the paper says:

"This new invasion has further aggravated the situation along Thai-Kampuchea border and in the region as a whole. To cover up their criminal acts, the Thai authorities have made public a map compiled by the U.S. Army at its discretion during the Vietnam War which has long been considered invalid.

"Thailand's occupation of Kampuchea's Hill 537 is a gross violation of international laws and the UN Charter. Besides bakcing the genocidal Pol Pot clique by providing them sanctuaries in Thailand's territory to oppose the revival of the Kampuchean people, the Thai rulers have blatantly infringed upon the national independence and sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea, destabilizing the situation in the region, and running counter to the trend of dialogue now prevailing in Southeast Asia and elsewhere in the world."

The paper goes on:

"In face of such a blatant act of aggression, the people's Republic of Kampuchea firmly urges the Thai authorities to withdraw their troops from the occupied hill. to show its goodwill, the PRK Government demands that Bangkok stop its interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and embark on negotiations with the PRK side at any place and any time to solve problems relating to the two countries aimed at clearly defining the border delimitation and making border areas a region of stability, friendship and peace.

"The Vietnamese people fully support the Kampuchean people's legitimate right to self-defence and their efforts to safeguard their national independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. We acclaim the PRK's goodwill attitude and its preparedness to negotiate with Thailand to solve all of their differences."

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CSO: 4200/115

PAPER HAILS PROPOSAL FOR NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE IN EUROPE

OW100951 Hanoi VNA in English 0728 GMT 10 Nov 86

[Text] Hanoi VNA 10 November--"The Vietnamese people [words indistinct] and fully support the new initiative jointly advanced by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) and the German Social Democratic Party (SDP) for establishing a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe," says the paper NHAN DAN in a commentary today.

The paper remarks:

"Together with the proposal put forth by the two parties in August 1985 for making central Europe a zone free from the chemical weapons, this new initiative is of great importance.

"Should these initiatives be realized the danger of war breaking out from the German territory would be diverted and the (?tension) at the biggest nuclear ammunition depot in Europe and along the demarcation line between the Warsaw and NATO pacts, lessened markedly. This thereby will increase mutual confidence, averting the danger of war in Europe, and contribution [as received] to preserving peace and life on our planet."

"The Vietnamese people welcome the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the German Democratic Republic--positive factor for peace and security in Europe--for their tireless efforts and praiseworthy contribution to the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism in Europe and elsewhere the world over," says the paper in conclusion.

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CSO: 4200/115

SRV-USSR COOPERATION IN OIL EXTRACTION REPORTED

OW050801 Hanoi VNA in English 0707 GMT 5 Nov 86

[Text] Hanoi VNA, 5 November--Oil extraction on an industrial scale was conducted for the first time on 26 June 1986 in the Bach Ho [White Tiger] area, about 100 miles off the coast of Vung Tau, named Cape Saint Jacques under the French rule, after 2 years of intensive work.

In a recent interview with the daily NHAN DAN, Nguyen Ngoc Cu, deputy director-general of the joint Vietnamese-Soviet oil venture, said: "two oil rigs, each capable of sinking 16 wells, have been in full operation in the region. Work is making headway. Within every 6 months, a new oil derrick can be assembled and put into commission."

He said the installation of an oil pipe system is being conducted alongside the construction of an on-shore petrochemical works.

He said the program for oil and natural gas exploration and extraction on southern Vietnam's continental shelf for the 1986-90 period had been adopted at a conference of the joint venture council in Moscow recently.

In 1987, the joint Vietnamese-Soviet oil venture (Vietsovpetro) will increase its output by 7 times over this year by 1990, its output is expected to increase by 60 times.

In another interview with Nhan Dan, A.M. Funtov, director of the sea work section of Vietsovpetro, said: "With the devoted assistance of Soviet engineers and workers, Vietnamese oilmen have matured very quickly. They are doing their work well. The third oil rig is being installed by Vietnamese workers themselves. Before long, it will be operational."

Asked about the prospects for the Bach Ho oil area, the Soviet expert said that with its considerable deposit, Bach Ho will be tapped to full capacity as from 1988.

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CSO: 4200/115

CPV CC GREETS ALBANIAN LABOR PARTY ANNIVERSARY

OW071852 Hanoi VNA in English 1558 GMT 7 Nov 86

[Text] Hanoi VNA 7 November--The coming into being of the Albanian Party of Labour (APL) 45 years ago was an event of great significance marking an important turning point in the history of development and in the political life of Albania.

This comes in a message of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee greeting the 45th Anniversary of the Albanian Party.

The message recalls that under the leadership of the APL, formerly headed by Enver Hoxha and now by Ramiz Alia, the Albanian people carried out a heroic struggle to liberate their country from the Italian and German Fascists. The working class and the people of Albania, bridging over hardships and difficulties, have turned their once feudal and backward country into a socialist one.

After praising Albania's substantial achievements in industry, agriculture and culture, the message notes that the brilliant achievements recorded by the Albanian Party of Labour, the vanguard of the Albanian working class, which party led the Albanian revolution to success, bringing about a happy life for the entire people.

"The party and people of Vietnam," the message says, "rejoice at the successes obtained by the APL and the fraternal Albanian people. We are convinced that the 45th APL anniversary and the success of the 9th APL Congress will be a source of strength and great encouragement to the working class and people of Albania to continue advancing, to still greater success in consolidating and developing the gains they have achieved in building socialism in Albania."

The message concludes by wishing for the constant development of the friendship, militant solidarity and fraternal cooperation based on Marxism-Leninism and the proletarian internationalism between the two parties and peoples.

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CSO: 4200/115

TRUONG CHINH MESSAGE GREETS NICARAGUAN ANNIVERSARY

OW081847 Hanoi VNA in English 1451 GMT 8 Nov 86

[Text] Hanoi VNA 8 November--Vietnam today reiterates its unswerving militant solidarity with the fraternal people of Nicaragua in their national reconstruction and defence.

This came in a message of Truong Chinh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and president of the State Council, to Daniel Ortega and other Nicaraguan leaders, greeting the 25th anniversary of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and the 50th birth anniversary of its late founder Carlos Fonseca.

The message recalls that over the past 25 years, bringing into full play the heroic and indomitable tradition, the Nicaraguan people have under the clear-sighted leadership of the FSLN, carried out a heroic struggle against imperialism and dictatorship.

They have gained great achievements in all fields, making the dream of Augusto Cesar Sandino and Carlos Fonseca and other Nicaraguan revolutionaries come true, namely building a new Nicaragua in which the people are the real masters of the country and of their own destiny.

It notes that after the successful Cuban revolution, the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution has further foiled the geo-politics imposed by the U.S. imperialists upon the Latin America Caribbean nations for centuries to maintain their rule and exploitation.

After denouncing the recent U.S. criminal acts against Nicaragua, the message stresses that these acts have been defeated and will completely be defeated.

"We are fully convinced that with the heroic and glorious tradition of revolution, with the clear-sighted leadership of the FSLN and the wholehearted support of the progressive mankind, the Nicaraguans will surely overcome all difficulties and trials and defeat all wicked schemes of U.S. imperialism and other reactionary forces, successfully defending their beloved country and building a new society," the message says.

It wished the militant solidarity and fraternal friendship between the two parties, states and peoples would further consolidate and develop.

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CSO: 4200/115

CPV CC GREETS GUINEA BISSAU PARTY CONGRESS

OW091615 Hanoi VNA in English 1447 GMT 9 Nov 86

[Text] Hanoi VNA 9 November--The Vietnamese people follow with deep sympathy the revolutionary cause of the people of Guinea Bissau and wish them ever greater successes in national construction and defence.

This comes from a message of greetings addressed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam to the Fourth Congress of the African Party for Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC).

The message, dated 8 November, says:

"Over the past years, under the PAIGC leadership the people of Guinea Bissau have brought into full play the tradition of heroic struggle and industrious labour, overcoming many difficulties and trials, and implementing the resolutions adopted by the first extraordinary PAIGC Congress in 1981. They have made important achievements in national construction and defence, thus actively contributing to the common struggle of the people in Africa and the world as a whole against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, Zionism, for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

"The Vietnamese people are convinced that, in the light of the resolutions of the Fourth PAIGC Congress, the people of Guineau Bissau will achieve still greater successes in national building and defence."

The message wishes the friendship and militant solidarity between the two peoples further consolidation and development, and the congress brilliant success.

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CSO: 4200/115

CPV CC GREETS SWEDISH COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS

OW071851 Hanoi VNA in English 1558 GMT 7 Nov 86

[Text] Hanoi VNA, 1 November--The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam today extended greetings to the 28th Congress of the Swedish Workers' Communist Party (APK).

The message notes that the APK, together with other progressive and peace forces in Sweden, has over the past years conducted a stubborn struggle against the U.S.-led international reactionary forces' arms race policy and their interference into other countries' internal affairs, and for respecting the independence and sovereignty of all nations and responding to peace intiatives proposed by the Soviet Union and other peace-loving nations, including the one of the late Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme.

"The APK also takes the lead in the struggle for defending the Swedish working people's civil and democratic rights against capitalist monopoly," the message adds. It continues: "The CPV highly values the active contributions of the APK, and fully supports its just struggle, and is convinced that in the light of the 28th Congress resolutions the APK will record still greater achievements."

The message expresses sincere gratitude to the APK and the Swedish people for their heartfelt support to the Vietnamese people's Socialist construction and national defence, and wishes the solidarity and friendship between the two parties and peoples further consolidation and development.

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END

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3 DECEMBER 1986

Southeast Asia Report

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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PAPER ON FRANCE'S 'NEW IMAGE OF BENEVOLENCE'

HK280720 Wellington THE EVENING POST in English 22 Oct 86 p 30

[Report by NEW ZEALAND PRESS AGENCY staff correspondent Nick Brown]

[Text] France is projecting a new image of benevolence towards the South Pacific under the right-wing Government of Mr Jacques Chirac.

The driving force behind a policy of increased French economic and technical aid to the region, Mr Gaston Flosse, denies that France is trying to curry favour to gain acceptance in a South Pacific community opposed to French nuclear testing at Mururoa and its policy on New Caledonian independence.

Mr Flosse, soon after his re-election in March as President of French Polynesia, was appointed by Mr Chirac to the newly created position of secretary of state for South Pacific affairs--the first time a South Pacific Islander has been appointed to the French Cabinet.

In a recent speech he pointed out that France is allocating $NZ1372 million a year for development in the South Pacific, the bulk of it being spent in the French territories of New Caledonia, French Polynesia and Wallis and Futuna.

He compared this performance to New Zealand's $75.5 million aid to the region and Australia's $651 million.

In an interview in Papeete he maintained that such spending was not a case of France trying to buy friends and influence. "Unfortunately under other governments, France had no policy in this region," he said.

"Mr Chirac appointed me as secretary of state for South Pacific affairs because he felt it was the only way for France to be represented to radiate its policies through the South Pacific.

"Help will only be given at the request of countries and in areas they have defined themselves. We are not wanting to impose ourselves on them."

Mr Flosse said he hoped to visit both Australia and New Zealand early next year to clear up what he believed was a "lot of misunderstanding" on France's role in the Pacific.

He wished to increase efforts to normalise French relations with New Zealand after the "bad experience of the Rainbow Warrior."

As head of the French Polynesian Government, he sees the territory as a showpiece for the South Pacific and wants to share its technological and scientific skills with other nations in the region.

Among projects in the pipeline which French Pacific territories could make a major contribution to the region's development is a French University of the South Pacific, with a Tahiti campus due to open next October, and a New Caledonia campus following in January 1988. It will be open to students from all islands in the Pacific.

Mr Flosse said the French Pacific territories could make a major contribution to scientific research.

About 500 French researchers and technicians are engaged in work varying from a study into ciguatera (a fish disease prevalent on many Pacific coral reefs and source of potentially lethal food poisoning), marine farming and coconut tree cultivation.

French largesse has so far made little impact on the South Pacific Forum countries at a political level. Mr Flosse's efforts to gain observer status at the Forum have failed 2 years running, and he does not see much point trying a third time.

The Forum, whose full members are government heads of independent countries in the South Pacific, decided in Suva in August that observer status would only be given to Pacific Island countries on the verge of achieving self-government.

"I feel if the rules are not changed as to observer status, it is unnecessary for us to apply again," he said.

"The Cook Islands and Niue are members and apparently the Forum has accepted the Federated States of Micronesia as a member. They are not independent countries. Is it a matter of guidelines or a political issue?

"Or is it, as some people have said, a private club reserved for Commonwealth territories?"

Since 1984 French Polynesia has enjoyed increased autonomy, and Mr Flosse is seeking more, but without severing links with Paris. "We wish and intend to keep French nationality and remain with the Republic. We recognise that France should take care of the defence, currency and diplomatic affairs," he said. "But the intention is to give more initiatives to the leaders of the country."

While France, in Mr Flosse's words seeks "solidarity with the Pacific region," it shows no signs of wavering to outside pressure against its nuclear testing programme.

/9604
CSO: 4200/120

AUSTRALIA

OPPOSITION LEADER HOWARD INTERVIEWED, CITES PLANS

Sydney THE BULLETIN in English 4 Nov 86 pp 22-24, 26

[Article by David Barnett]

[Text] AT 9.30am on Saturday November 8 John Howard and most of his 72 federal Liberal colleagues will meet in the conference room at the Thredbo Alpine Village to discuss a topic which the opinion polls have put firmly in their minds: their first six months in government.

While the families of the MPs and senators recover from the previous night's dinner, play tennis, ride ponies or hike through the alpine meadows around the Snowy Mountains resort the politicians will work on plans for implementing immediately their policies in the two critical areas of taxation and industrial relations.

Howard is not a betting man (the effects of his Methodist upbringing remain too strong) but he does rate the coalition as 75 percent certain to win the next election. In racing parlance, the coalition's odds would be 3-1 on.

The next election is 12 to 18 months away but Howard continues to be buoyed by the polls. With that confidence behind him, he is laying plans to attack the business of government with gusto. The basic idea is to move quickly, to introduce the most important — and controversial — reforms as soon as possible.

It sounds very much like those exciting, and bewildering, early days of the Whitlam government, when Gough Whitlam and deputy Lance Barnard thrashed about transforming the political and administrative landscape.

Howard is unhappy with the suggestion that he wants to "do a Whitlam". "Oh no!" he says. "That was the joy of the tart shop. The whole emphasis of the weekend in Thredbo is preparing for government — hitting the ground running and having a lot of well-prepared ideas for the shape of the administration, the approach to government and the style of government. The way you set the style of government in the first couple of months is tremendously important to one's decision-making capacity. The reality is the capacity to change the whole style and approach of government is virtually non-existent after you've been there for a few years.

"What I intend to do is to change quite significantly the style of doing things from the past but it's got to be done in the first few weeks. In the key strategic areas I want to have plans worked out so that we can start straight away. I think the tolerance cycle of government is short. You really do have to maximise what you do in that first six months because in that first six months there's a tolerance towards government. You have to squeeze the lemon dry."

The two areas in which Howard wants to hit the ground running and squeeze the lemon dry, to use his mix of metaphors, are taxation and industrial relations.

Howard has yet to be specific about his tax plans, particularly about his plans for taxing executive perks. With the government in such a state of flux over the fringe benefits tax, he says, it would be poor politics to spell out his proposals. "I'm entitled to plead strategy occasionally," he says. "If we were having this interview in 12 months time (that is, just before the election) and I was still maintaining that line, you'd be entitled to put acid in your pen and have a go at me."

An alternative explanation for Howard's refusal to be detailed on tax is that he has yet to work out the details. His critics would argue that it is all too hard for him — that he is no more able than Prime Minister Bob Hawke to pick the path through the political and administrative minefield that lies before the perfect taxation policy. But it is more likely that Howard does not yet want to think through the details, that he wants to see what the political and economic circumstances — and climate — are like closer to election day.

It is possible, however, to work out from Howard's answers in this interview, and from statements made elsewhere, the main points of Howard's tax strategy. He would, as he has said, abolish the fringe benefits tax, as it is a tax on a company's cash flow, not a tax on profits. Any tax on executive perks would be imposed on the recipient. He would, as he wanted to do in government, broaden the indirect tax base, at the very least moving towards a broad-based consumption tax. This would allow room for a Reagan-style drastic reduction in personal and company income tax rates. "I think that Reagan has put his finger on the key to incentive-driven taxes," he says. "Lower marginal rates . . . that's the key. I'm not going to put my finger on numbers. I can't. But the principle of lower marginal rates, of spreading the method of collecting taxes in a broader way, of having a more level playing field, a more neutral system, it's got to be better."

When it comes to taxing fringe benefits, Howard says he would not tolerate "abuses that involve tax avoidance". The precedent here is his decision as Treasurer in 1979 to crack down on the payment by companies of school fees for executives' children. But I suspect that other perks might fare better. Companies might be able to argue, for instance, that supplying senior managers with smart-looking cars is a way of presenting their enterprises in the marketplace and is a legitimate business expense and that, under certain circumstances, executive lunches are, too.

But the real force of argument, to which Howard would be more receptive, would come from the industries hit by the business taxes — the motor vehicle producers and dealers and restaurants. How Howard would respond to their arguments would depend on the state of those industries in a year's time. But if we can expect that Howard would listen seriously to their arguments he would logically also have to be receptive to arguments for abolishing the capital gains tax and restoring negative gearing.

Providing incentive is the philosophy underpinning Howard's tax thinking. It also will be an important factor when the Liberals consider, at Thredbo, the implementation of their industrial relations policy. A main aim of the policy is to break down union power by diffusing it — by reducing the centralised authority of the Arbitration Commission and hence of the Australian Council of Trade Unions and the big union juggernauts.

The union movement will rightly see this as an attack, so the planning for the early months of government will include the introduction of sweeteners designed to appeal to rank and file union members — including profit sharing and tax incentives for employee share-ownership.

The other policy which presses in as Howard's mind's eye surveys the delicious prospect of government is administration. He is attracted to the concept of large departments presided over by a senior minister, with junior ministers supporting him. He gives the example of the Treasury: he would remerge the departments of Treasury and Finance. The Treasurer would control the domain while three junior ministers would be "looking after the housekeeping of expenditure, the housekeeping of revenue and the other doing the odds and sods".

This idea — once the well-practised bureaucrats of Canberra get hold of it — has the potential to cause an explosion of departments. But Howard wants to use the super-department concept to reduce the number of departments allowing the main minister to keep control of policy direction without having to worry about the minutiae of administration. "I think that would enable the Treasurer to concentrate on the big issues," he says. "I think probably in his private moments (the Treasurer) Paul Keating would probably agree with me. I don't know; I haven't talked to him about it.

THREDBO Alpine Village once had a trendy "snow-bunny" image but which in recent years has redirected its marketing to boost its family appeal. It is an appropriate setting for a Liberal revival meeting, for a party which is moving to the right and is stressing old-fashioned values, including the importance of the family.

The meeting is based on a heroic presumption: that the Coalition will gain power because the Hawke government is on an almost-irreversible downhill slide; that it has exceeded the elastic limit of that "tolerance" to which Howard refers. One of the reasons for his confidence relates to the family. "The tax burden on family groups is going to be an increasing problem for them," he says.

Another serious difficulty he sees for Hawke is the one which skittled Malcolm Fraser — broken promises, particularly those which alienate the government's normal supporters. "I think the problems they have is one of disappointed expectations," he says. "I mean, there's no way I'm going to run around and disagree with their uranium decision but part of staying in government is not alienating your natural constituency." Are there, then, parallels between the Fraser and Hawke governments? "Oh yes," he says. "You have to see some."

Howard has a political point to score here — that Hawke will lose as surely as Fraser did — but this is also "Honest John" coming out. It is a label which Howard, accepts happily, without any hint of acknowledging the irony of such a nickname being applied to a politician.

"I don't mind it," he says. "I think trust, predictability and integrity . . . if people want to put that on me, that doesn't bother me at all. Without sounding overblown, I endeavor to be fairly candid."

Only Howard knows how candid he was being when discussing that well-leaked Liberal Party research which was said to show that the Hawke government was losing the trust of the people — but on the face of it he was at least half-way honest. "There's an element in that research," he says, "of the government going down and us going up. It's more positive about us and about me than previous research. Like all Oppositions mid-term, it would not be 100 percent rapture, but it's more positive. Because it's (research into) middle Australia, it has some Aussie cynicism about all of us."

"Honest John," however, has an interesting approach to the problem of political compromise — an approach which will be tested severely in the heat, anger andfrustration of an election campaign. This is to restrict the promises, so that performance becomes that much easier. "I am very obsessed with the notion that it's better to promise half of what people expect and deliver on it, than to promise everything and deliver on only half," he says.

In the end, if his judgment is right he will not be overburdened by a swag of specific promises. "If I have one clarion call that I'll run the election campaign on, that is providing people with incentives," he says. "The weakness with consensus is that it is a mechanism rather than a driving force. Consensus doesn't make you go out and invest your money and do something, whereas giving people an incentive does. I think that will be the big difference. I mean, if Howard's got 'incentive' above his head and Hawke's got 'consensus', I think I will give him a 5 percent chance, not 25 percent." □

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CSO: 4200/112

SUPREME COURT REJECTS DHARSONO'S APPEAL

Jakarta MERDEKA in Indonesian 11 Oct 86 p 1

[Text] The Supreme Court has rejected the appeal made by Hartono Rekso Dharsono, the 56-year old former commander of the Siliwangi Division and secretary general of ASEAN, and reconfirmed the Jakarta High Court's decision sentencing him to 7 years in prison, less time in custody, for subversion.

At the Central Jakarta State Court yesterday afternoon MERDEKA learned that the Supreme Court Council, headed by Adi Andoyo, had decided on 8 October 1986 to reject the defendant's appeal.

Dharsono was brought before the Central Jakarta State Court and accused of holding a subversive meeting in the house of A. M. Fatwa on Kramat Pulo Gundul Street; the purpose of the meeting was to plan a series of bombings in Jakarta.

Prosecuting attorney Bob R. E. Nasution asked the court to sentence Dharsono to 15 years in prison, less time in custody; the council of judges of the Central Jakarta State Court, headed by Sudiyono, sentenced him instead to 10 years in prison, less time in custody.

Because he was not satisfied with the decision of the lower-level council of judges Dharsono appealed to the Jakarta High Court, and his sentence was reduced to 7 years.

Still not satisfied with the decision of the Jakarta High Court Dharsono appealed to the Supreme Court, which rejected his appeal and reconfirmed the Jakarta High Court's decision.

9846
CSO:4213/13

LEGAL AID INSTITUTE STOPS HANDLING 'SUBVERSION' CASES

Jakarta MERDEKA in Indonesian 11 Oct 86 p 1

[Text] As of Friday 10 October the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute (LBH) will no longer handle cases of subversion. This decision was taken at last Thursday's [9 October] meeting of the LBH with Adnan Buyung Nasution, coordinator of the Subversive Case Defense Team.

This surprising decision was interpreted by members of the legal profession as the beginning of a more moderate position on the part of the LBH.

When he was questioned by MERDEKA in his office yesterday, Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara, director of the LBH, said that there were several basic reasons for taking this position; it was not taken in order to attract donors into loosening up the freeze in giving funds to the LBH.

First, said Abdul Hakim, the LBH has had a serious problem recently--a shortage of legal staff. It has been difficult to recruit new lawyers. Second, the number of cases handled by the LBH has kept on increasing. "At least 10 people come to see us at the LBH every day," said Abdul Hakim.

Third, LBH wants to give other legal institutes, for example IKADIN (Indonesian Advocates Union), the opportunity to take part in handling cases of subversion.

Abdul Hakim admits that up to now the LBH has been tenaciously struggling for the legal rights of clients in various cases, including cases involving subversion, but "what is the use of such tenacity if it ends up making things hard for us, in particular making it hard for us to handle cases for indigent clients?" he asked.

"Frankly, we don't want to sacrifice other cases just to handle a case of subversion," added Abdul Hakim.

He said that the LBH's decision would certainly disappoint some people, especially clients who wanted to hand their subversion cases over to the Institute. "But what can you do; there are legal aid societies which can afford to handle such problems," he said.

Abdul Hakim denied the view that their recent handling of cases involving subversion was merely for public consumption. "We're not looking for publicity; we're stuggling for legal rights," said Mas Achmad Santosa, head of LBH's public relations, who was with Abdul Hakim during the interview.

In response to questions, Abdul Hakim confirmed that one of these days the LBH would appear in court to handle a case of subversion even though they had decided not to deal with such cases any longer. This should not be misunderstood, however; this is just a left-over case involving an HK [work contract].

Funds are Drying Up

In fact, Mas Achmad Santosa admitted that funds for the LBH have been drying up recently. In a surprise move, the government of the DKI [Jakarta Autonomous Area] stopped funding the LBH last April. As a result, the LBH has been trying to increase efficiency and find funding for previously-scheduled projects.

In this connection, Abdul Hakim strongly denied that the LBH's decision not to handle cases of subversion any more was taken just to help cash flow. "We increased our employees' wages just as our funding was decreased," said Mas Achmad Santosa.

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CSO:4213/13

DEPOSITORS URGED NOT TO WITHDRAW FUNDS

Jakarta MERDEKA in Indonesian 15 Oct 86 p 1

[Text] The government has urged members of the public not to withdraw their bank deposits before the due date; doing so would inflict losses on the depositors and subject them to a penalty.

This statement was made by Arifin Siregar, governor of the Central Bank, after he and Minister of Finance Radius Prawiro had reported to President Soeharto about their recent trip abroad. It was made in response to questions from reporters at the president's residence on Cendana Street. Also present at the meeting were Minister and State Secretary Soedharmono and Minister and Head of BAPPENAS [National Planning Council] Soemarlin.

Arifin said that some deposits had been withdrawn before their due date; nevertheless time deposits in all banks were on the whole higher after the devaluation than before.

"Before the devaluation deposits totaled about 10.339 trillion rupiahs, and after the devaluation this figure rose to 10.517 trillion rupiahs," he said.

Arifin Siregar reminded depositors not to withdraw their savings before the due date.

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BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION ON INDONESIAN PERSONALITIES

[Unless otherwise noted, the following information on Indonesian personalities has been extracted from Indonesian language sources published in Jakarta]

AIR FIRST MARSHAL SUGIANTORO--Two weeks ago Chief of Staff of the Air Force Air Marshal Oetomo inaugurated Air First Marshal Sugiantoro as commandant of the Air Force Education Command, replacing Air Vice Marshal Yahman. Sugiantoro was formerly director of Air Force Training and Operations. Yahman was inaugurated as commandant of the Air Force Operational Command II, located in Ujungpandang. He is replacing Vice Marshal Wardoyo Kusumo, who has become Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel. [Text] [Jakarta TEMPO in Indonesian 27 Sep 86 p 17] 9846

MAJ GEN (RET) WIDYA LATIEF DIES--Maj Gen (Ret) Widya Latief, 63 years old, former director general of the Department of Foreign Affairs protocol office, died last Sunday afternoon [21 September]. Born in Bukittinggi, West Sumatra, he was a long-time military attache in the United Arab Republic and in Thailand. Before becoming director general of protocol in 1974, Widya was a private assistant to President Soeharto. [Excerpts] [Jakarta TEMPO in Indonesian 27 Sep 86 p 17] [9846]

BRIG GEN MOERDIONO PROMOTED--Drs Moerdiono, cabinet secretary, met with President Soeharto at the president's office where he reported that he had been promoted from brigadier general to major general in the Indonesian National Army. Moerdiono is a graduate of the Public Administration Institute (IIP). After serving his required military duty he enlisted. Before meeting with the president he reported to Commander in Chief Gen L. B. Moerdani about his promotion, effective 1 October 1986. Moerdiono was born in Banyuwangi 50 years ago. [Text] [Jakarta SINAR HARAPAN in Indonesian 6 Oct 86 p 1] [9846]

BRIG GEN (RET) SUMRAHADI DIES--Army Brig Gen (Ret) H. Sumrahadi Partohadiputro, 62 years old, head from 1972 to 1977 of the HANKAM [Defense and Security] information center, died at dawn yesterday. Sumrahadi's last post, which he held from 1977 until his death, was as a member of the ABRI [Armed Forces] faction in the DPR [Parliament]. He had been military attache in Manila, [a student] at the Army Command and Staff School in Bandung in 1963, head of the Army Information Service in Jakarta in 1971-1972, head of the HANKAM information center at Army Headquarters in Jakarta from 1972 to 1977 and finally member of the Indonesian Parliament from the ABRI faction. [Excerpts] [Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 13 Oct 86 p 12] [9846]

BRIG GEN DRS SEDIA OETOMO--Police Maj Gen Drs Soebagjo, head of the East Java provincial police, inaugurated Brig Gen Drs Sedia Oetomo as East Java deputy police chief in a ceremony at provincial police headquarters. Brig Gen Drs Sedia Oetomo, who had served at the Police SESDITLOG [Logistics Directorate Staff School] in Jakarta, replaces Brig Gen Drs Darminto, who had served in that position for a long time and whose new post will be as director of the Police Education Directorate in Jakarta. [Excerpts] [Jakarta HARIAN UMUM AB 15 Oct 86 p 6] [9846]

CSO: 4213/13

NEW ZEALAND

NATION'S SECURITY OUTLOOK, SOCIAL ISSUES CRITICIZED

Sydney THE BULLETIN in English 4 Nov 86 pp 106-108

[Article by John Laffin]

[Text] MAROONED in splendid and almost defiant isolation in the oceanic wastes of the South Pacific, New Zealanders seem to have the idea that the great events which almost daily shake Europe, Asia and the Americas will safely pass them by.

Pride in isolation shows itself in some intriguing ways. The customs declaration card handed to incoming visitors notes that "New Zealand is free from many pests and diseases found in other countries . . .". It can stay that way only if the government views "pests and diseases" more broadly.

It might have been expected that at least two recent events would teach them that isolation does not insulate from foreign interference in their affairs. One was the French assault on New Zealand integrity with the sinking in Auckland Harbor of the Greenpeace ship, *Rainbow Warrior*. The other is the ongoing dispute with the Americans over the New Zealand refusal to permit US warships into its harbors on the grounds that they might be carrying nuclear weapons. New Zealand has declared itself nuclear free. This is a noble sentiment; unfortunately other countries have not made the same declaration about New Zealand.

Another issue links New Zealand with the dangerous world of modern Islam — the sale of mutton and of live sheep to several Middle Eastern countries, notably Iran, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Sheep have to be slaughtered in New Zealand by the ritualistic *halal* method; the animal is not first stunned but bleeds to death after having its throat cut as it faces Mecca. Slaughterers must be Moslems, which accounts for the presence of some of the 4000 Moslems in New Zealand. Many farmers, especially those in Southland, object to this type of slaughter but as New Zealand has little of anything to export on competitive terms it is not surprising that it makes the most of its mutton, killed according to *halal* or not.

The export of live sheep is quite another matter. Large and increasing numbers are being sold to Saudi Arabia for slaughter by Moslems making the pilgrimage (*hajj*) to Mecca. Every one of the two million or so Moslems reaching Mecca each year is required to slaughter a camel, goat or sheep in ritualistic sacrifice. The trade is worth a lot of money but it causes unease in New Zealand.

Because they are naive — ignorant is a more honest word — about world affairs, parliamentarians and government officials appear to be unaware that in the harsh world outside trade is closely linked to politics. By making itself so largely dependent on Middle Eastern markets New Zealand is vulnerable to the political pressures which will almost certainly be applied. This does not mean that trade should cease — simply that the government and its servants should be aware of the risks.

While visiting Christchurch I sat on a wall of a fountain in a fine new shopping mall where I struck up a conversation with a New Zealander in her mid-30s. I mentioned that I had not been in her city for many years but that in essentials it had changed little. What had brought me back? she asked. I explained that I was making a lecture tour and that my principal topic was Islam. "Islam?" she repeated. "Oh yes, that's a kind of health cure, isn't it?" With the Moslem massacre of Jews in an Istanbul synagogue and the Karachi Pan Am hijack atrocity then a few days old her supposition was not really funny.

As I had already been in New Zealand a week the woman's ignorance did not surprise me. At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Wellington I had met the official "in charge" of Africa and the Middle East, a stupendously large area for one person to cover. He told me that the New Zealand government and its civil service had not a single staff specialist on the Middle East. On another occasion a radio interviewer referred to Crete as "one of those Caribbean islands".

New Zealanders are such warm-hearted, friendly people that I criticise their ignorance with reluctance. Of course, there are informed individuals. One of them is Sonja Davies, head of New Zealand's United Nations International Year of Peace Committee, which sent a delegation to New York to discuss world opinion of the United Nations. "The average New Zealander just doesn't think of the UN or if they do think of it at all they see a club for elderly people," Davies said. "We need to talk about the UN in schools, to make more use of UN films and videos and invite UN experts out here to speak."

Davies' use of "out here" is significant. Many New Zealanders are conscious of the out-here distance which separates them from the nastier aspects of international life. Davies regards distance as a handicap but it lulls many New Zealanders into a false sense of security; they see it as protecting them from the nastier aspects of the northern hemisphere – terrorism for instance.

Security against terrorism is virtually non-existent in New Zealand. To be able to walk unchallenged into the House of Parliament in Wellington is refreshing for somebody based in dangerous London, as I am, but alarming. Airport security is a sick joke. When I left Auckland on an international flight a woman security officer waived a metal detector over me and it screamed alarm above two of my pockets. "I have a metal spectacle case in one pocket and a heap of small change in the other," I said. She believed me and made no further check. For such laxity she would have been fired from any security job in Europe.

During my lecture tour I spoke of sleepers planted in New Zealand by Islamic Jihad Organisation. The structure of this holy war organisation is so well known in Europe and the Middle East that it hardly warrants space in a newspaper. Most journalists to whom I spoke in New Zealand had never heard of it. But given its existence, they said, what possible interest could it have in New Zealand? One reason is simply that New Zealanders do not appreciate their own desirability as a long-term target. Even after being the target of French and American exploitation and bullying they still do not understand their importance in terms of geo-political strategy.

That somebody was listening to my warnings was evident from an editorial in *The Evening Post* which began: "The carnage caused by terrorist action over the weekend should make us re-check our own defences. Whilst New Zealand is outside the arc of Islam and beyond its troubled periphery, neither distance nor a lack of involvement in the Middle East seems to offer security." I had made this point in the same words at a press conference the previous day.

Before defences can be rechecked it will be necessary to convince Foreign Affairs that problems exist. The gentleman from the Ministry who is "in charge" of Africa and the Middle East – and he seems to be serious in this claim – is not aware of any danger. However, he said, when information or advice was needed the Australians, British and even the Americans could be counted on for help.

The Americans have publicly stated that as New Zealand has in effect withdrawn from ANZUS the US is no longer under any obligation to protect New Zealand from attack but I learned that American intelligence is still available to New Zealand at the military level. Defence chiefs are generally co-operative even when their political masters have fallen out, as have Prime Minister Lange and President Reagan.

My warning in New Zealand that Islamic Jihad has sleepers bemused some people. It seems that many New Zealanders do not even understand the term yet every great power has for centuries used agents in deep cover to pass back economic, political, social, personality and military assessments. Islamic Jihad, which is an amalgam of many terrorist organisations, is openly at war in parts of Europe, Asia and the Middle East against some Arab states, Israel, and the West, notably the US, France and Britain. For the moment it is quiescent in the southern hemisphere and only a few sleepers are needed to provide the information necessary.

New Zealand ministers have been roving this year and no doubt the experience and knowledge they gain will percolate through into the government system. For instance, Mike Moore, Overseas Trade and Marketing Minister, on mission in Moscow, has found that the Russians are the best capitalists in the world when it comes to hard bargaining. New Zealand's trade with the Soviet Union is almost all agricultural and based solidly on wool sales for textiles. It is marked by Russian determination to buy at cheap prices. New Zealand exporters have been frustrated by the Russian refusal to make long-term buying commitments. Moore found evidence that the Russians want better trade links in the Pacific. The Russians told him that New Zealand traders are closer to some parts of the Soviet Union that the Russians are to the west of their country. It's a point which needs to be kept in mind by departments other than that of Overseas Trade, the Ministry of Defence for instance.

Ordinary life in New Zealand has a delightful level of whimsy and within the space of a few days I collected several examples of unconscious humor, ingenious private enterprise and Kiwi get-up-and-go. The *Southland Times* reported Councillor J. T. Hicks as complaining that certain steps proposed by the council would be "jumping the gun". The councillor said: "If we cause an upheaval now the impotence we have generated could be lost." In the same vein *The Wairarapa Times* noted that a Ms Howden feels "that there are a lot of misconceptions about family planning clinics".

In Auckland I saw a van labelled GRAFFITI CONTROL SERVICE, surely a form of initiative which could catch on anywhere in the world. At the time the van was travelling at 110km/h so it may have been answering an emergency call.

Researchers at the Glenariffe Salmon Research Station on the Rakaia River have found a way to control the sex of salmon to improve fish size. The sex reversal method produces female salmon and then changes their physical characteristics to male salmon. Station scientist, Kerry Hopkins, said: "Salmon farmers find that males tend to mature too early when they are two years old and are still too small to bring good prices on the markets. On the other hand female salmon take about three years to mature and are larger when they are sold."

Parliament had its moments of fun. The Opposition Transport spokesman announced that Wellington's Radio Windy had broadcast a report that a cabinet minister had been seen driving a car, reading what looked like a Sunday newspaper spread across the steering wheel. The minister in question, he said, was Mr Richard Prebble, minister in charge of road safety. Mr Prebble said that the idea that anybody, including a minister of the crown, would actually be able to drive through Wellington's streets while reading a newspaper was "just absolutely incredible". "And I might indicate," he said, "that on that particular day I was then driving with my wife and the idea that Nancy would allow me to drive reading a newspaper . . .."

I found this bit of nonsense more engaging than Sharon Crosbie's interview on national television, with Ms Helen Clark, chairperson of the influential parliamentary foreign affairs committee. Crosbie asks placid questions and, from this interview at least, received dull responses. Not that Clark is dull but she is so sure of her grasp of foreign affairs that she is alarming: in fact she is ill-informed and she over-simplifies problems. Some interesting people turn up in New Zealand but few seem able to reach Clark's committee to impart information on their particular subject.

Unable to get government permission to open an office in Australia the Palestine Liberation Organisation and its local supporters are trying to establish the organisation in New Zealand. They could then attack Australia from the flank by pointing to the existence of an office in neighboring New Zealand. It is not at all certain that New Zealanders understand these tactics.

A national crisis which does alarm many New Zealanders is the danger that Rotorua, the bedrock on which New Zealand's tourism is built, could run out of steam for its famous geysers. Of the 150 geysers active in the 1950s only six remain, all in Whakarewarewa, the main area of geothermal activity in Rotorua. The trouble is that many people, hotels and other businesses have for decades been drawing off Rotorua's steam and hot water for cheap power and heating. Some residents frankly admit that they have never paid a power or heating bill in their lives. National government and local government are belatedly alarmed; without its sprouting geysers, bubbling mud and boiling water Rotorua would have little tourist appeal.

The biggest social problem which faces New Zealand is that of the relationship between the Maoris and the white New Zealanders, or Pakeha. For generations Pakeha and Maori have lived in more or less integrated harmony and educated Maoris have found their way into every walk of New Zealand life. Until relatively recent years there was no such thing as a race relations' problem. Now certain Maori activists seem to be trying to create a self-inflicted apartheid. This is the result of their often exaggerated efforts to recreate the traditional Maori culture. Many white New Zealanders complain that the Maoris are themselves practising racism by regarding the Pakeha as inferior. The Maoris are certainly more politically aggressive than when I last saw them in the 1950s. Maoris and Pakeha are completely equal but Maori demands for additional "rights" of various kinds seem to be alienating many among the white New Zealand community.

The dilemma over how traditional Maori fishing rights are to be reconciled with Pakeha law is a case in point. Recently Christchurch High Court Judge, Mr Justice Williamson issued the historic decision that traditional Maori fishing rights contained in the Treaty of Waitangi take precedence over Pakeha fishing laws and regulations. The right was not tied to land ownership as it has been in the past and was deemed to be able to be transferred between tribes. The decision has catapulted the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries into a situation it had not expected to face yet.

The nation has to face other unpalatable problems. One is that New Zealand's child health care record — once the envy of many developed nations — has declined to the level of a poor, Third World country. Auckland Medical School's professor of paediatrics, the internationally respected Bob Elliott, said: "There are huge pockets of Third World disease in the country. You don't have to go to Soweto or Bangladesh to find problems — they're on our doorstep."

New Zealanders are convinced that Australians are jealous of them and especially of those Kiwis who have succeeded in Australia. Successes are there in plenty but 16,200 of the 191,500 New Zealanders resident in Australia are living on Australian welfare and could be considered failures. If all of them were to return to New Zealand at the one time the country would face difficult economic problems in sustaining them.

Many events, most of them originating abroad, could have traumatic effects on New Zealand as it seeks to plot a course in a dangerous world without the benefit of previous experience in handling the types of crisis now so familiar to the rest of the Western world.

To the observer from abroad New Zealand looks like a sitting duck — and a sleeping one at that. □

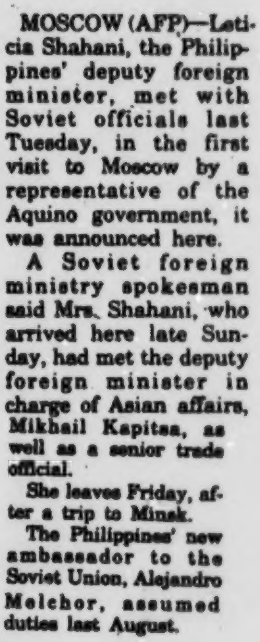
/13104
CSO: 4200/113

FIRST AQUINO REPRESENTATIVE VISITS SOVIET UNION

Deputy Foreign Minister Meets Counterpart

Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 30 Oct 86 pp 1, 16

[Text]



MOSCOW (AFP)—Leticia Shahani, the Philippines' deputy foreign minister, met with Soviet officials last Tuesday, in the first visit to Moscow by a representative of the Aquino government, it was announced here.

A Soviet foreign ministry spokesman said Mrs. Shahani, who arrived here late Sunday, had met the deputy foreign minister in charge of Asian affairs, Mikhail Kapitsa, as well as a senior trade official.

She leaves Friday, after a trip to Minsk.

The Philippines' new ambassador to the Soviet Union, Alejandro Melchor, assumed duties last August.

Soviets Assure 'No Contacts' With NPA

HK071103 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 7 Nov 86 p 6

[Text] The Soviet Union has assured the Philippines that it has no contacts with the Communist New People's Army, according to Deputy Foreign Minister Leticia Ramos-Shahani.

In a press briefing, Shahani said the assurance was made during her recent meeting in Moscow with Soviet Foreign Minister Mikhail Kapitsa. She said Kapitsa told her that the Soviet Union views the communist insurgency problem in the Philippines as the country's internal affair.

Shahani said she had to bring to the attention of the Soviet Government the insurgency issue in view of the current efforts of the Aquino government to attain political stability and economic recovery.

She added her meeting with Kapitsa and other ranking Soviet officials touched on bilateral issues affecting the relations between the two countries.

Kapitsa, Shahani said, also stressed that the Soviet Union would adhere to its non-interference policy in the internal problems of other countries.

On trade and transfer of technology, Shahani said, a group of Soviet experts will visit the Philippines next year to assess the lignite coal deposits in Isabela.

A 5-year plan to put up a lignite coal processing plant in Isabela was drawn up with the assistance of Soviet Government. Lignite coal is widely used in Russia.

On possible Soviet hiring of Filipino workers, Shahani said nothing is definite yet, although 90 Filipinos are now working in a shipyard in Gdansk, Poland through a subcontract scheme.

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AQUINO REPEALS AUTHORITARIAN DECREES FROM MARCOS TERM

HK110755 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 9 Nov 86 pp 1, 3

[Text] President Aquino yesterday repealed four presidential decrees [PD] which gave former President Marcos arbitrary powers to arrest and detain indefinitely people suspected of committing political offenses.

In an Executive Order No 59 signed, Mrs Aquino set aside decrees Nos 1404, 1836, 1877 and 1977-a.

She said these decrees "undermined the rights and freedom" of the people. She said that they were "inconsistent" with Proclamation No 3, dated 25 March 1986, which gave her the mandate to "make effective the guarantees for the rights and freedoms of the Filipino people, and to provide remedies against violations."

The executive order took effect immediately.

The decrees were the extraordinary measures used by Marcos to suppress political dissent.

The executive order said that PD 1404 empowered Marcos to authorize a longer period for the delivery of people arrested for political offenses including rebellion, inciting to sedition and subversion.

PD 1836 empowered Marcos to issue orders of arrest or commitment orders during a state of emergency, or when the privilege of habeas corpus is suspended against people who are arrested or detained in the interests of public safety, or a means to quell invasions, insurrection or rebellion, or when such a danger is imminent.

Under the decree, people arrested or detained could not be released unless ordered by the former President or his authorized representative.

PD 1877 empowered Marcos to issue preventive detention action against people believed to have taken part in political offense.

Under PD 1877-a, Marcos was authorized to issue preventive detention action against people whose arrest and detention was in his judgment, required by public safety or as a means to repel or quell rebellion.

Deputy Executive Secretary Fulgencio Factoran said that the repeal of the decrees was part of the continuing efforts of the government to dismantle the authoritarian legal structures left by Marcos.

Factoran said Mrs Aquino had no use for these arbitrary powers.

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CSO: 4200/123

PCHR TO PERSIST WITH PROMOTIONS CLEARANCE DEMAND

HK071237 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 7 Nov 86 p 3

[Article by staff member Marites Sison]

[Text] The Presidential Committee on Human Rights (PCHR) said yesterday it does not intend to abandon its proposal that the list of military officers up for promotions should be submitted to it for clearance, saying it will either seek the amendment of existing laws on promotions or ask the president to take direct action on the matter.

Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and Armed Forces Chief Gen Fidel Ramos had issued a statement last Wednesday that the matter of promotions was strictly between the president and the AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] Selection Board as provided in Republic Act 271. The statement also said that the PCHR's proposal "is not proper and may constitute undue interference with promotion procedures prescribed by law."

PCHR member Abelardo Aportadera said that right now the "legal obstacle" that must be settled is whether the powers cited in Executive Order [EO] No 8 which created the PCHR, "supersedes" RA 291, and if it does, the latter law can be either amended or repealed.

Aportadera said the Section 4C of EO 8 states that the PCHR has the power to propose procedures on how human rights can be advanced and protected. According to him, there is a need to amend RA 291 since it is a law "that was formulated a long time ago." He added that the PCHR will "try to overcome that law, and make it responsive to the present situation."

The PCHR, Aportadera said, "is not really receptive" to the alternative presented by the military that the PCHR submit the list of officers who have records of human rights violations, since it may in some ways endanger the security of witnesses.

If the request for an amendment is not granted, the PCHR may ask President Aquino to decide on the matter since the promotion of officers is a "presidential prerogative," he said.

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CSO: 4200/123

BULLETIN EDITORIAL LAUDS PCHR ENHANCEMENT OF AFP IMAGE

HK071445 Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 7 Nov 86 p 6

[Editorial: "Gathering Strength"]

[Text] While we do not agree with the reported plan of the Presidential Committee on Human Rights [PCHR] to require a clearance from it as a prerequisite for promotion in the Armed Forces, we do admit that the very existence of the PCHR and its active protection of human rights have done a lot of good. The PCHR has benefited the Armed Forces because its deterent effect has improved the military image, which is a significant factor in the fight against insurgency.

If the Armed Forces could convince the population in the countryside that they are the protector, not the ravisher, they will have won half the fight. Insurgency, as we all know, derives its strength from the support of the population. Remove that support and it can no longer live off the land.

If aside from proper conduct, government soldiers are given more equipment and additional benefits, they become unbeatable.

Probably the Armed Forces are well on the way to being so. They are deploying more helicopter gunships, using better weapons, receiving more benefits promptly, and morale is being boosted by the regular promotion of officers to one-star rank. So assuming the rebels regroup during a ceasefire period, the Armed Forces will have gained strength, too.

The above-mentioned factors and others that favor the Armed Forces ought to contribute to decisiveness on the part of the president in dealing with the insurgency.

When the government is strong, modus vivendi should mean bowing to the majesty of the law.

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EDITORIAL WELCOMES FOREIGN SUPPORT TO MANILA STABILITY

Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 30 Oct 86 p 6

[Editorial: "Sources of Stability"]

[Text] ECONOMIC assistance and expressions of support from foreign governments help the cause of political stability in the Philippines. Not that the situation is fragile, as some surmise. It would take a lot of doing to "destabilize" the government and the best try is not likely to succeed under the present circumstances. Still, foreign assistance and words of encouragement provide a psychological lift at a time when the country is coping with the rebellion and the economy is just beginning to recover.

Foreign governments are helping because they believe that the Aquino administration is an appropriate vehicle for helping the country. They think it is earnestly carrying out its tasks and should be encouraged. If they had believed otherwise, they would have adopted a passive attitude toward the administration.

That administration ought to be the most decisive source of political stability. We are encouraged by the President's willingness to engage rebel leaders in conversations first before the government adopts the mailed-fist policy. Equally encouraging are her conciliatory moves in the secessionist problem.

The basis of understanding is reasonableness. While some of her subordinates have been indiscreet to the point of being abusive, the President herself has been reasonable all along.

People do not look for perfection in a leader. All they want is that the leader be reasonable and just. Those virtues are the leader's shield. They are also a formidable source of political stability.

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ALARM EXPRESSED OVER DEFENSE MINISTRY'S GUN IMPORTATIONS

HK111143 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 10 Nov 86 p 1

[Text] Manila International Airport (MIA) customs collector Alexander Padilla today expressed alarm over the questionable importation of military hardware by ranking officials of the Defense Ministry.

Imported items ranging from UZI assault rifles to just clothing materials have been landing at the airport cargo terminal, Padilla said.

As early as July, over 200 high-powered UZI minisubmachineguns and FNC assault rifles, 12,000 rounds of ammunition, 200 pieces of UZI magazines and bullet primers have been brought into the country, not to mention other military gadgets and paraphernalia such as bullet proof vests, night scopes, uniforms and knives.

Consignees for these shipments were Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and Col Gregorio "Gringo" Honasan, his chief security officer.

Padilla, a human rights lawyer, viewed the importation as a "tremendous firepower capability."

He also worried over these importations, taking into consideration the stance of the Aquino administration in trying to secure peace in the countryside through the negotiations with rebels and insurgents.

"How can we demonstrate the government's sincerity in wanting peace when the MND [Ministry of National Defense] officials are gearing up for battle?" he asked.

He added: "Unless these arms are for other purposes, I fear they may not bode well for those of us who aspire for political stability in this country."

Padilla said further than these military hardware importations were processed in accordance with a request from Honasan, who also asked that they released through Herman C. Malonzo, MND's customs liaison. [as published]

Padilla recalled that Malonzo was implicated in an attempt to smuggle into the country electronic components worth P100,000 and hundreds of wristwatches declared as audio sets.

Last 31 August, another shipment of 100,000 yards of jusi clothing material, military bags, ballpens, and 5,000 reams of expensive white paper arrived at the cargo terminal via Philippine Airlines.

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NAVY OFFICIAL SAYS FOREIGN SHIPS ATTEMPT ARMS DELIVERIES

HK101222 Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 10 Nov 86 pp 1, 14

[Text] More foreign vessels carrying arms were supposed to enter the Philippines last month but were prevented by tight military patrols along "critical sealanes and borderlines," it was learned yesterday.

A Philippine Navy official, who spoke about insurgency activities in the south and other points of Luzon on condition that he would not be identified, said some groups abroad have been quietly supporting the insurgency movement by supplying the rebels with weapons.

The official did not say what country is helping the rebels and which group is getting most of the support.

He said the military, however, is aware of this "and there's no way that their (rebels) operations would prosper."

In the past months, military resources and capabilities improved with the "repositioning" of its programs and acquisition of more communications equipment and weapons, it was disclosed.

The anti-insurgency drive has also been intensified two-fold to put everything under control, the official said.

"Insurgency activities, especially in the south, continue. But there is no cause for alarm because of a watch-technique the New Armed Forces is employing now," he said.

Early last month, a Honduran-registered vessel carrying a big shipment of war materiel was intercepted by the Coast Guard of Bacong in Negros Oriental.

The ship's master alleged that the vessel was just passing the country's waters and was on its way to the Middle East to deliver the cargo.

Military authorities, however, suspected that the shipment was intended for the New People's Army (NPA) since passing the Philippine route meant getting around the other side of the ship's destination.

The government ordered the seizure of the cargo and began an investigation of the shipment.

The shipment consisted of 118 boxes of 181 mortar primer and fuses, 253 boxes of three million electric primer for 20 millimeter ammunition, 113 boxes containing 100,000 set cases of powder charge M-100, and several boxes of 20 mm fuses and 20 mm cartridge cases.

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CSO: 4200/123

DEFENSE MINISTRY LINKS BUSCAYNO TO ARMS SMUGGLING

Manila THE MANILA TIMES in English 24 Oct 86 pp 1, 6

[Text] DEFENSE Minister Juan Ponce Enrile yesterday ordered the military to stop a foreign cargo vessel from leaving the country after authorities discovered a cache of explosives in the ship's hold.

The Ministry of National Defense (MND) said military authorities are also investigating the possible involvement of Bernabe Buscayno, alias Commander Dante, former chief of the New People's Army, in the smuggling of the explosives found on board the *S/S Cargo Trader*. Dante was reported to have "bought arms abroad through the support of the Japanese Communist Party."

Navy and Coast Guard personnel, the MND said, found the materiel during a search of the vessel last October 9 while the ship was docked at a private wharf owned by Nobel Philippines in Bacong, Negros Oriental.

The cache consisted of 100,000 sets of plastic charges intended for the manufacture of M-181 mortars, three million pieces of electric primers for the production of bullets, a box containing two-millimeter fuses for M-403 mortars and 20 cases of M-103 cartridges, the MND said.

The MND added that based on the ship's manifest, the explosives were loaded last July in Pusan, South Korea. The plastic charges came from a big firm in South Korea and was consigned to a trading firm based in Antwerp, Belgium. The electric primers, on the other hand, were consigned to another trading firm located in Ankara, Turkey.

The MND also said the ship, after it was loaded with the explosives, called already on the ports of Limay, Bataan and Dumaguete City last August. The MND, however, did not say whether or not the explosives were unloaded in the same ports. It did not also elaborate on Buscayno's possible involvement.

Authorities discovered the shipment after a foreign embassy tipped off local authorities that the ship was carrying explosives. But the embassy information said the cache was intended for delivery to an Arab country at present engaged in a war with a neighboring country.

The foreign embassy information claimed that the shipment was released in South Korea without proper approval of authorities there.

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ALLEGED AQUINO CONCESSIONS TO ENRILE REVEALED

HK111131 Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER in English 11 Nov 86 pp 1, 6

[Article by Victor C. Agustin]

[Text] President Aquino has promised Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile that he would not be investigated by the Good Government Commission for hidden wealth and that military officers close to him need not fear investigation from the Human Rights Commission, the INQUIRER has learned.

The assurance was given during the early months of the Aquino presidency and was relayed personally to Enrile by Executive Secretary Joker Arroyo.

Arroyo is one of the three Cabinet ministers, along with Labor Minister Augusto Sanchez and Local Government Minister Aquilino Pimentel Jr, whom Enrile wants replaced, the INQUIRER learned.

It was also Arroyo, who relayed the lay-off policy on Enrile to Good Government Chairman Jovito Salonga and Human Rights Chairman Jose W. Diokno.

Arroyo, it was also learned, explained to Diokno that the "Enrile boys" should be exempted from the ongoing investigation of military men suspected of having committed human rights violations during the Marcos years because of "policy and practical considerations."

Diokno, "with a hint of hesitancy," told Arroyo during their telephone conversation that he was acceding to the President's directive only because of "policy considerations."

Good Government Commissioner Raul Daza Thursday told newsmen that they do not have documents on ill-gotten wealth that implicate Enrile and, consequently, they are not investigating him.

"I am not saying the matter is closed. Show us any evidence and we will not hesitate to act on it in accordance with law and due process," he added, however.

But fellow commissioner, Mary Concepcion-Bautista hinted in previous talks with newsmen, that the PCGG [Presidential Commission on Good Government] was not keen on Enrile because of his "contribution to the February revolution."

Salonga, in a taped television interview aired Saturday night, said "Minister Enrile is still part of the government and if there is any basis for an investigation, it should be the Tanodbayan who should investigate."

Salonga said government officials are not within the scope of PCGG since, he said, Executive Order No 1 which created the PCGG specifically singled out to recover the ill-gotten wealth of Marcos. [sentence as published]

The PCGG head, however, admitted that "if the President so directs us to look into scandalous acts within the current crop of government officials, we can do so."

The U.S. Justice Department was reported to be investigating whether Enrile had diverted American aid funds and laundered money into two condominiums in San Francisco.

Enrile has denied any wrongdoing in his business transactions, saying he was "willing to face any investigation regarding the source of funds to acquire the property."

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CSO: 4200/123

TFD BLAMES ENRILE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES

HK111021 Hong Kong AFP in English 0954 GMT 11 Nov 86

[Text] Manila, 11 Nov (AFP)--A church-backed monitoring group here has blamed Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile for what it called continuing human rights abuses by the military under President Corazon Aquino's government.

But the Task Force Detainees (TFD), which is funded by Roman Catholic orders, told a news conference Monday that arrests had sharply decreased compared with the Ferdinand Marcos regime deposed in February. TFD said the Aquino government had arrested 603 persons for political reasons from February to September this year. Of this number, 157 had remained in detention along with 188 political prisoners remaining from the Marcos administration, whose regime was widely criticized for human rights violations.

Asked why the military violations continued despite Mrs Aquino's avowed commitment to human rights, TFD spokesperson Sister Bobbie Ilumin said "we could attribute that to the present hardline stance of the minister of national defense" against communist insurgents.

Mr Enrile, who led the military mutiny that led to Mrs Aquino's rise to the presidency in February, has favored a tougher policy against the 17-year-old leftist insurgency while Mrs Aquino has been seeking a ceasefire.

"We firmly believe that it is the conditions of war that bring out these human rights violations...a peaceful resolution to the conflict in the country will lessen if not eradicate these human rights violations," a TFD official, Benjie Olivares, added.

Sister Bobbie Ilumin said that compared to last year, the number of arrests decreased by at least 75 percent since February, but noted that the ratio of disappearances and summary executions in relation to arrests had increased. She said [number indistinct] were reported missing as of February while 88 more were reported as summarily executed. On human rights violations on a wider scale, TFD statistics showed 34 cases of mass evacuations and 36 massacre cases.

The nun noted that one-third of the evacuations occurred in Mr Enrile's home province in the Cagayan Valley on northern Luzon, where his military proteges have allegedly carried out a hardline anti-insurgency program.

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CSO: 4200/123

ENRILE DISPUTES WEST GERMANS' TORTURE CHARGE

Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 30 Oct 86 pp 1, 17

[Text]

Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile disputed yesterday an accusation by a West German group that "the Philippine government of President Aquino has stepped up the torture of communist insurgents since it came to power in February 1986."

Enrile said that the "Society for Threatened People" which made the charge, should tell who are the threatened people: the communist rebels, or the Filipino people and their soldiers.

Enrile's answer to the charge was contained in an official communication to Vice President Salvador Laurel, concurrently minister of foreign affairs.

The defense chief's statement is as follows:

"The documented cases of torture and inhumanity are on the side of the communist rebels. They have tortured and killed more than 600 of their own members in Northern Mindanao whom they suspected of being government spies, or who they believed were about to surrender to the government. The communist rebels have killed, and are continuing to kill, civilians who refuse to pay taxes to the rebels.

"They have disarmed militiamen and have shot them in front of horrified villagers. Moreover, the communist rebels have publicly declared their policy of terrorism, as published in the Manila newspapers of Oct. 13, 1986 that they will continue to kill selected civilians and military personnel.

"One of the most brutal acts of inhumanity that they did and which they were forced to admit much later in the face of incontrovertible testimonies and evidence, was the inhuman torture, crippling, and maiming of Lt. Col. Rex Baquiran before they stabbed him to death. Not one single human rights group here or abroad has protested even a single case of the continuous and escalating human rights violations being perpetrated by the communist rebels."

On the charge that the military has intensified "bombardments of rebels positions and mopping-up operations" against the communist rebels, Enrile said that police and the military units are on a status of "active defense."

He explained that the armed forces react only to the continuing and escalating communist rebel attacks on local government centers and personnel, military camps, troop convoys, innocent civilians and commercial enterprises.

Enrile said that the military and police forces are under the watchful eyes of the Presidential Committee on Human Rights (PBCR), and the more than 100 human rights groups throughout the country under the umbrella of the Philippine Alliance of Human Rights Advocates (PAHRA) so that the charge that the government, "condones" torture of communist rebels is "a clear deception and intended to reverse the truth."

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COLUMNIST SUGGESTS U.S. COULD SUPPORT ENRILE

Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 30 Oct 86 p 5

["Bottom Line" Column by Gaby Manalac: "Help, Sam!"]

[Text] I cannot quite decide whether I am amused or irritated by our propensity to reckon the future of the Philippines by what the Americans want it to be. American support, or interference, is solicited or condemned depending on how it suits particular purposes.

INTERFERENCE. In the current rift between President Aquino and Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, the unqualified support of the US for our lady president is being bandied around in an obvious attempt to neutralize Enrile who might already be the dominating power in the political and government scenes.

If Palace releases are to be believed, just about everyone who is anybody in Washington, President Reagan included, has already expressed support for Mrs. Aquino and her government. Ordinarily, such expressions of support would have been condemned as interference in domestic affairs. Thus, by soliciting and citing American support, it seems to me that Mrs. Aquino's strategists are in panic and are justifying foreign interference just so they can hold Enrile at bay.

TIME TO WORRY. Frankly, I think that they can do better than use the American bogey to intimidate Enrile, and I do not think the defense minister is impressed by this kind of a tactic. To begin with, if the Americans really said that Mrs. Aquino and her government have the unqualified support of the US, then the President should really be worried.

Every time the US makes such statements, the opposite usually happens. We saw that in Korea and Vietnam. And not too long ago, Ferdinand Marcos got the same endorsement and shortly after, American helicopters spirited him and his family away to Clark Field and eventually to Honolulu.

NO SECRET. Besides, it is no secret that the Americans are not too happy about the new constitution and Mrs. Aquino's open options on the renewal of the military bases agreement.

The handling of the communist insurgency is also a very sensitive issue for the Americans and they certainly want to see a suppression of this movement at the earliest possible time. Even our ASEAN neighbors have expressed their own apprehension at the manner in which we are handling this very dangerous movement. After all, a communist Philippines will certainly be a real threat to ASEAN, particularly to Indonesia, Malaysia, and Brunei.

RELIEVED. My own gut feel is that the Americans are neither pro-Cory nor anti-Enrile. They probably could not care less who is in power so long as their own interests are protected, and that means the military bases first, and American investments second.

If Enrile finally takes over government control, the Americans may not be too unhappy about that. In fact, they might even be somewhat relieved. President Aquino is still an unknown quantity to the Americans. They are not yet sure that she will opt to renegotiate the military bases agreement.

NOT THE TIME. On the other hand, Enrile has quite openly endorsed the renewal of the military bases agreement, saying that the bases are necessary not only to domestic security but to the security of the region as well. He has categorically stated that now is not yet the time to think about abrogating the bases pact.

Enrile's mailed fist policy toward the insurgents must also bring a lot of comfort to Washington. I do not think that Washington will want to get embroiled again in another war with communists half-way around the world, which they might be forced into because of our mutual defense agreements. Right now, they have their hands full in Central America and the US Congress is not too happy about that either. So Enrile could be actually be a godsend for the Americans.

MISCALCULATION. Thus, if President Aquino's strategists think that waving the American flag will force Enrile to back off, they may be badly miscalculating the odds.

Besides, do we have to make it so obvious that our government, despite our nationalistic protestations, is after all still Uncle Sam's little brown puppet?

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CSO: 4200/111

CEBU COLUMNIST ON ONGOING ENRILE-AQUINO FEUD

HK070643 Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 27 Oct 86 p 4

["The Monitor" column by Eddie Adlawan: "Insult to Cory"]

[Text] The big question that remains to bug us is why President Aquino agreed to sit down with Minister Enrile? We thought that she being the president, it was incumbent for Minister Enrile to follow her--or if doing so is against his (Enrile's) conscience--to resign from the Cabinet.

Is Aquino afraid of her defense minister? Why?

Or is it true they had an agreement right after the revolution that says Enrile must stay no matter what?

For Enrile to manage a confrontation with his boss and submit a set of demands as a basis for the solution of their differences, by this mere act, he succeeded in portraying her (Aquino) as a weak president.

It is clear Enrile came to the reconciliation table from position of strength. Else, why did he make demands on matters entirely out of his turf, such as the revamp of the Cabinet?

Is he trying to choose Aquino's Cabinet members for her? Doesn't this constitute an insult? To the president?

Making demands from position of strength--what constitutes Enrile's strength? Is it true he has 70 percent of the military behind him? Still that many after 7 months of Cory Aquino, if true, is one way of saying that Aquino is stupid? Is she?

What really is Enrile's strength? Is it his fund of experiences and skill as defense minister that extended to as far as Uncon [United Coconut Corporation], UCPB [United Coconut Planters Bank], coconut levy, shipping (Galleon Shipping), and logging during those 20 years as Martial Law administrator?

But why did Cory Aquino act the way she did, like the "little nice girl" in the clock who was doing a good turn before a wizened macho defense minister?

Does she really think this guy is as tough as he sounds, or that he hates communism more than he loves the presidency that's now getting closer within his reach?

Is Enrile really as anti-communists as he claims he is? Was this not the guy who stood next to Ferdinand Marcos who declared martial law in 1972 to stop communism, but which was only a guise to promote their political greed in unobstructed manner?

Was this not the same Enrile, Marcos crony, who used anti-communism to perpetuate themselves in power?

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CSO: 4200/123

COLUMNIST VIEWS ULTIMATE AIM OF ENRILE COUP PLOTTERS

HK101506 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 10 Nov 86 p 9

["Analysis" column by Amando Doronila: "Enrile Coup Could Be Very Messy"]

[Text] Although a coup plot by military officers identified with the defense minister, Mr Enrile, was aborted last week, the danger of a power grab has not ebbed. The plan has just been shelved, following hectic negotiations among Mr Enrile, the Armed Forces chief of staff, General Fidel Ramos, and senior military commanders.

As more evidence unfolds, it is becoming clearer that the intention of the plot, called Operation "God save the Queen," is not just to pressure President Aquino to take a tougher posture against the Communist insurgency and to dismiss allegedly left-leaning Cabinet ministers.

The goal is to install Mr Enrile as head of a military-civilian junta, possibly as prime minister, in which President Aquino will be relegated to a figurehead president. This means a complete power seizure that would inevitably result in a Cabinet dissolution or revamp and a tough campaign against insurgency.

Whether the installation of Mr Enrile, the dismissal of unwanted ministers and a tough military solution to insurgency would solve the problem without plunging the country into civil war is extremely problematic. A coup, that will bring back the 1973 constitution of the Marcos dictatorship and return the KBL-dominated Batasang Pambansa, appears to be the least likely prescription to provide political stability. Neither is it the most promising solution to corruption—an issue which Mr Enrile has raised against the Government.

The experience of 14 years under the Marcos authoritarian regime, as well as that of several countries that have fallen under junta rule, contradicts the thesis that a military junta, with a civilian component serving as a window dressing, eradicates corruption and ensures the crushing of insurgency.

Thus, it must be emphasized that the demands to dismiss the "left-leaning" ministers, to put more fire on the insurgency campaign and to arrest the return of corruption are plain pretexts for the larger goal of overthrowing the Aquino government.

Mr Enrile has his view of how to run this nation and it is anti-democratic. This point must be understood. If he had his way, this nation will be going back to where it was under the Marcos years--a period marked by repression of human rights the most notorious aspect of which is "salvaging." This is a point of view which holds that to promote political stability and economic development, the nation must be governed by resolute rulers who would use arbitrary powers as an essential condition for these goals.

The reduction of Mrs Aquino into a figurehead in a junta in which Mr Enrile wields the executive power does not fit into the junta scheme. Her democratic orientation, in contrast to the authoritarian preference of Mr Enrile (even though he may call it "democratic" for the purpose of rhetoric) makes her a contradiction in such a junta. She has no place in it; it is extremely doubtful if she would accept any role in a scheme in which she will be used merely as a cosmetic.

There is in the aborted coup plan the shades of the conspiracies by both the Indonesian military and the Indonesian Communist Party prior to the October 1965 coup. In the plots by both sides, there was one central element on which they agreed--that Sukarno should not be deposed so he remains president under a changed balance of power in the Cabinet. The aim of the military was to eliminate left-leaning ministers like Dr Subandrio, the foreign minister; that of the PKI (the Indonesian Communist Party led by Aidit), to remove the generals from key positions. These calculations were based on the assumption that Sukarno was popular with the people, having had enjoyed the esteem as the father of the Indonesian nation, and that it was essential to keep him as president, albeit with reduced powers.

Of course, the scheming by both sides led to a showdown when presidential guard officers identified with the Left staged a coup--not against Sukarno but against the military component of the Cabinet by killing several senior military leaders.

The proposition by coup plotters identified with Mr Enrile that Mrs Aquino be made figurehead of a junta implicitly accepts that a change of government which eliminates her would not be acceptable to the people. Even though some of Mr Enrile's senior aides scorn people power, they have an instinctive respect for popular acceptance as an essential element of a successful power grab. This awareness is an important factor in the calculation of whether a coup would be mounted.

President Aquino, on the eve of her departure for Japan, secured an assurance from Mr Enrile that "he would do his best" to prevent a coup while she is away. Mr Enrile's word is not the best assurance. The most important deterrent against a power grab is the perception that such move would entail high costs. A coup is likely to be very expensive. It may not turn out to be a mere "surgical strike." It could be very messy.

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CSO: 4200/123

EDITORIAL URGES GENERAL CURBING OF CORRUPTION

HK061245 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 6 Nov 86 p 9

[Editorial: "Basis for Widening Reformism"]

[Text] Yesterday's editorial took off from the request of the Presidential Commission on Human Rights to freeze the promotion of those members of the armed forces who committed violations of human rights during the Marcos regime. We suggested, however, that such punitive measure may have to be extended to other departments and bureaus of government not only in relation to criminal violations and civil rights but relative to all unconstitutional acts of officials and personnel.

The point is that if government and Philippine society are to take a reformist position, there must be a general clean up of criminal and illegal activities. For the foremost over-all concern of the administration should be to instate a credible government, responsive to the demands of justice and capable of generating trust on the basis of its performance.

The recent upsurge of reports on corruption should indicate the direction of government concern. As early as 2 months after the EDSA [Epifanio de Los Santos Avenue] revolution, Jaime Cardinal Sin noted a tendency towards "backsliding" among those in government. At that time, there were only unconfirmed rumors that some ministries were reverting to the old system of corruption. And of course, there was the rash of complaints from disillusioned ordinary citizens who had expected prompt service and attention from the newly constituted ministries only to be rebuffed with the usual bureaucratic tactics.

Today, close to a year after the EDSA revolution, the air has grown thicker with confirmed reports of confiscation at Customs of illegally imported goods, corruption by middle officials of their subordinates to undertake illegal activities, solicitation of percentages in the ministries for contracts and special services, influence peddling, spurious projects which net kickbacks but do not yield the results for which they had been intended, etc.

So prevalent have illegal and unethical activities become that not a few people have been heard to say in exasperation that corruption in government today is even worse than it was in the previous regime.

This observation is no doubt an exaggeration. We believe that the dimension of the looting done by Marcos and his cronies that has been revealed so far cannot be exceeded by the instances of petty and guarded graft practiced since the new government took over. The observation may approximate truth, however, if what is meant is the number of personnel practicing it. This is because the Aquino government's policy of decentralization has made it possible for lower officials to exercise greater authority.

Needless to say, the upsurge of venalities may also be due to the lingering presence of key people in the reconstituted ministries. The policy of reconciliation has made it possible for the new ministries to accommodate the remnants of the old regime. In some cases, this accommodation has been made indiscriminately, even to the extent of assuring closet loyalists that they could pick up where they left off.

The resumption of old habits, no doubt, has also been encouraged by the discovery that the new personnel are equally capable of adopting the practices of the old regime.

More than being a temporary phase, then, the freeze on promotions should be an opportunity for the government to reassess the personnel of the bureaucracy. We suggest that, as the retention of some OICs [officers-in-charge] has to be reconsidered and as some judges have to [word indistinct], so should everyone in the entire structure of government be scrupulously screened.

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CSO: 4200/123

SURVEY SHOWS 85 PERCENT FAVOR NEW CHARTER

HK110828 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 11 Nov 86 pp 1, 3

[Text] A recent survey shows 85 percent of Filipinos favor a new draft Constitution that would legalize a 6-year term for President Aquino, Reorganization Commission Minister Luis Villafuerte said yesterday.

Villafuerte said the survey was conducted nationwide by random sampling to find out public opinion on the Charter, to be presented for ratification on 2 February.

Villafuerte refused to say what group commissioned the survey nor did he give any details on the number or type of people surveyed. He also did not say when the survey was conducted.

Meanwhile, the United Nationalist Democratic Organization [UNIDO] announced it would campaign for voter ratification of the proposed Charter, saying it would "accelerate political stabilization" of the country.

"Even the task of national unity and reconciliation cannot be achieved, and the program of national unity and reconciliation cannot succeed without first stabilizing the political situation in which the present government finds itself," a UNIDO statement said.

Vice President Salvador H. Laurel explained UNIDO would push for the inclusion of two questions in the plebiscite to be held on 2 February. These are:

If you do not approve the proposed Constitution, which Constitution should be re-established automatically?

Do you approve that the incumbent president and vice president shall have a term of office until noon of 30 June 1987?

He added the holding of local elections simultaneous with the plebiscite would "resolve once and for all" the controversy on officers-in-charge.

"These are items the president may agree upon or not but it will not change our position on the Constitution," Laurel said.

He said the decision of individual UNIDO members to campaign against the Charter's ratification would be "respected."

"They would be free from any disciplinary action," he said.

The UNIDO's Committee to Study the Proposed Constitution, headed by former Senator Dominador Aytona, said the party's position was unanimously approved by its members and the UNIDO Council of Leaders.

Aytona's committee members included Enrile Bello, Rene Espina, Edmundo Cea, Manintal Tamano and Francisco Tatad.

"In the judgment of the committee the pros outweight the cons...and the defects could be remedied by amendments in the future," the committee report said.

Laurel stressed, however, only an "overwhelming" 'yes' vote would "erase doubts" on the country's political stability.

No irritant, he said, exists between him and the president whom he said he can talk frankly with "any day, any time."

After the press conference, Deputy Defense Minister Wilson Gamboa told reporters his scope of responsibility in the military establishment was "limited" and he had no way of ascertaining whether some factions were planning a coup.

The Reformed Armed Forces Movement (RAM) which is closely identified with Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile kept to themselves and were "too exclusive."

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COLUMNIST SAYS NEW CHARTER WILL NOT SOLVE PROBLEMS

HK061411 Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 6 Nov 86 p 4

["My Cup of Tea" column by Ninez Cacho-Olivares: "The Draft Charter: Not a Solution"]

[Text] What happens if the draft charter is rejected in the forthcoming plebiscite?

The answer depends on who is doing the talking. Constitutional Commissioner Blas Ople says that rejection of the proposed constitution will result in a major [vacuum] which only the Armed Forces of the Philippines or the New People's Army can fill. "More likely, it would be a military rule, because the Armed Forces will not stand by while the other armed group prepares to seize power and they will have to move to protect the national security."

UNIDO's [United Nationalist Democratic Organization] Rene Espina looks at it differently. If the proposed charter is rejected, he says the 1935 Constitution should be deemed operational. Palace boys think otherwise. Should the electorate reject the draft charter, the nation will continue to operate under the Aquino "Freedom Constitution." Others have gone even further. If the draft charter is rejected, a new charter will be drafted, this time by a duly elected body.

Other politicians have come forward with the view that if rejection occurs, President Corazon Aquino, and, I suppose, her vice president, Salvador Laurel, should resign and run for office again.

Does the Filipino really care, one way or the other, about the rejection and ratification of the 1986 draft charter? My guess is that the majority of Filipinos aren't interested in the issue, one way or the other. Most Filipinos are poor. There are other day-to-day problems they have to grapple with. They won't add to their list of worries the future of the draft charter. It is perhaps only the politicians, government officials and observers of political events who show interest in the future of the draft charter.

But interested or not, a plebiscite will be held in February and even with an extremely low turnout of voters, the draft charter will either be rejected or ratified.

What disturbs me more is the way some palace officials and constitutional commissioners inject what I view as veiled threats, in case the draft charter is rejected. For instance, some of those who push for the ratification of the draft say that the draft charter must be ratified, or else political stability will not be achieved. Others, like Mr Ople, come up with a scenario of an armed force taking over if the constitution is rejected.

What we are being told, in essence, is that we must ratify the charter or else. Or else what? Or else, a coup d'etat, staged by the military, will occur. Or else the Aquino government collapses. Or else investors will not come. Or else our miseries will be compounded. Or else we can never hope to stabilize the political and economic situation. And never mind if the draft charter will aggravate the problem of poverty. Never mind if the draft charter contains provisions that will retain the status quo, not to mention the continued impairment on our sovereignty.

Our options are somehow always being limited to a choice of two. During the last presidential elections, what were the options of the Filipino voter? A vote for Marcos meant the continuance of dictatorial rule and all the evil it brought with it. A vote for Mrs Aquino meant the end of that rule. I will agree that at that particular time, there was an urgent need to oust Marcos, and the best way to do so was to support the candidacy of Mrs Aquino.

Having been given that support, shouldn't the new administration now show the nation that it is capable of governing? Shouldn't the new administration now prove that it is capable of ushering in the much-needed political and economic stability?

What has the nation heard so far from the new administration? We can't achieve political stability as yet, because the new constitution has not been ratified. The Aquino government should be given more time and that it is unreasonable for anyone to think that Mrs Aquino can undo 20 years of the Marcos plunder in so short a time. Then comes the "clincher." Who would you rather have up there? Enrile? Laurel? The military government?

A new constitution, even if ratified by Filipino people, will not stop the military from staging a coup d'etat, if it has plans to stage one. A new constitution will certainly not deter the communist insurgents from mounting a revolution, if and when they feel the time is ripe to mount one. Political stability will not be achieved with the ratification of a new constitution if Mrs Aquino continues to display weakness and indecisiveness.

Eight months after her ascension to the highest office, the nation still does not know what direction the new government is taking. Eight months in office and the nation still does not know whether the administration has come up with a realistic and comprehensive program of government. Eight months in office, and the nation is left speculating whether Mrs Aquino can govern.

Will a new constitution douse all the speculation? I doubt it.

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CSO: 4200/123

PHILIPPINES

PCGG HEAD REVEALS MONITORING OF MARCOS' MONEY

HK101404 Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER in English 8 Nov 86 pp 1, 10

[Article by M. Ronquillo]

[Text] The government is working out adequate safeguards to prevent Ferdinand Marcos and his close associates from slipping part of their "ill-gotten wealth" to the campaign against the draft Charter, Presidential Commission on Good Government [PCGG] Chairman Jovito Salonga said yesterday.

Interviewed after the taping of a television talk show, Salonga also said he is almost certain there would be a Cabinet revamp after the ratification of the new Charter. Other topics he discussed were on the insurgency problem, the plans of the Liberal Party and the job of his commission.

Salonga said the safeguards being put up are in response to a widespread perception that Marcos and his cronies may have been sending part of their money overseas into the campaign against the draft Constitution.

"That's very, very possible," Salonga said when asked to react to reports that Marcos and his close associates have been secretly funding the campaign against the draft Charter.

"Don't worry. We are ready for that (the slipping in of money)," Salonga told the reporters.

Without revealing the specific safeguards, Salonga said the heart of the government's strategy to block the entrv of Marcos money into the anti-Charter campaign is a tight watch on the money deposited in banks overseas. This could be the primary source of funds for the anti-Charter campaign, Salonga said.

Salonga also told reporters that it is almost certain that President Aquino would revamp the Cabinet after the national elections next year.

The revamp would be triggered by the resignation of several Cabinet ministers who will abandon their Cabinet posts to run for the Senate and not for reasons of corruption of inefficiency, he said.

He said the return to the presidential form of government will distribute power to the executive, legislative and the judicial branches of government. This would make a congressional seat more attractive than a Cabinet post, he said.

Salonga said the government is not in danger of being ousted through a coup even as he expressed hopes the people will ratify the constitution.

The President's soft approach to the insurgency problem should be given a chance since the mailed-fist policy which was used by Marcos in his last 14 years in office failed, Salonga said.

Salonga expressed hope the splintered Liberal Party will soon unite despite his faction's serious rift with the other faction led by former Senator Eva Estrada Kalaw.

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PHILIPPINES

PAPER VIEWS MOVE TO OUST ROMUALDEZ ADHERENTS

HK101532 Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 10 Nov 86 p 25

[Text] The expose on a smear campaign against relatives and close allies of President Corazon C. Aquino allegedly being pushed by former Ambassador Bejamin "Kokoy" Romualdez has intensified the clamor for the immediate ouster of top government officials popularly known as "the Kokoy boys."

Official sources said the PDP-Laban [Philippine Democratic Party--Strength of the Nation] headed by the President's younger brother, Jose "Peping" Cojuangco Jr., is now rushing a list of "Kokoy boys" to be presented to the President upon her return from her Tokyo visit.

Sources said Cojuangco is the main target of the smear campaign which was detailed in instructions sent allegedly by Romualdez to his boys in Manila.

The instructions were intercepted by the PDP-Laban intelligence unit, sources said.

The former Tarlac congressman said the black propaganda will be concentrated on him and his wife Margarita "Ting-Ting" Cojuangco.

Cojuangco was quoted as saying that the objective is to destabilize the Aquino administration and hinted that the "Kokoy boys" who are now occupying top government positions would be utilized. It is not known, however, what modus operandi Romualdez and his henchmen will use.

Among those who have been earlier linked to the former ambassador are Finance Minister Jaime V. Ongpin, Development Bank of the Philippines (DBP) Chairman Jesus Estanislao, DBP Vice-chairman Roberto Anonas and monetary board member Cesar Buenaventura.

Prior to his appointment as finance minister, Ongpin used to be president of Benguet Corp., a mining firm sequestered by the Presidential Commission on Good Government (PCGG).

Romualdez has substantial interest in Benguet through two dummy corporations.

Anonas, on the other hand, was executive vice-president of the Philippine Commercial International Bank (PCIB) shortly before he joined DBP.

PCIB is widely believed to also be owned by Romualdez.

Estanislao, formerly of the Center for Research and Communication (CRC), a private thinktank group, had served as one of the consultants of PCIB and other businesses of Romualdez, sources claimed.

Buenaventura still heads Pilipinas Shell Corp., where First Philippine Holdings, another Romualdez-owned company holds the single biggest stockholding equivalent to 25 percent.

In an earlier talk with newsmen, Ongpin had insisted that he merely worked as a professional manager at Benguet and that he received instructions from former DBP Chairman Cesar Zalamea and not directly from Romualdez.

He also said he never knew that Benguet was majority-owned by Romualdez and added that he did not care anyway whoever owned the company.

Estanislao worked for a while as president of Associated Bank which was then and still is majority owned by the DBP.

He was placed there during the stint of Zalamea as DBP chairman. From there he transferred to PCIB where he served as top consultant and handled the delicate negotiations for the acquisition of the Insular Bank of Asia and America (IBAA) by PCIB, sources claimed.

It was there that he became close to Anonas, then PCIB executive vice-president whom he brought with him to the DBP as vice-chairman and right hand man, sources claimed.

Estanislao and Anonas are now reportedly locked in a bitter dispute with DBP Governor Alice Reyes over the direction which the state-owned bank should pursue under the new regime.

Reyes, however, has opted to retire from the DBP after serving the bank for 25 years.

The "Kokoy" boys enjoy tremendous support from their peers in the private sector who also used to work in various capacities in the enterprises controlled or owned by Romualdez.

The "Kokoy" circle includes present PCIB President Antonio Ozaeta, former Benguet director and currently Interbank President Jovencio Cinco, former Transportation Minister Jose Dans, former Commission on Audit Chairman Francisco Tantuico, former Immigration Commissioner Edmundo Reyes and former Airport General Manager Luis Tabuena, sources said.

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CSO: 4200/123

FORMER DEFECTOR REJOINS AFP, LINKS NPA TO 1971 BOMB

HK101223 Manila THE MANILA TIMES in English 8 Nov 86 pp 1, 2

[Text] Victor Corpuz, the celebrated military officer who defected 16 years ago to the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) but who was in jail the past 10 years, rejoined the military service this week after President Aquino approved a recommendation from Gen Fidel V. Ramos, armed forces chief of staff, to have Corpuz reinstated.

Col Virgilio Saldajeno, deputy commander of the constabulary Judge Advocate General's Office (JAGO), announced this yesterday at a press conference at Camp Crame. He said Corpuz, who was a first lieutenant when he defected, has been made a lieutenant colonel, which means a three-rank promotion for him.

The promotion, military officials said, was in recognition of Corpuz's experience in working with the communist rebels which the military and the government can use in their campaign against the communists.

Corpuz himself was present at the press conference, during which he confirmed before the newsmen that the communist rebels were responsible for the bombing of a Liberal Party rally in 1971 at Plaza Miranda, which killed nine persons and injured 98 others.

Corpuz said he defected in 1970 because he felt the military establishment was being used by then President Marcos as a tool to perpetuate himself in power.

He was "captured" in 1976 by the military, and then detained at Fort Bonifacio until President Aquino ordered his release last March.

Released with him then were Jose Ma. Sison, the former head of the CPP, and Bernabe Buscayno, former head of the New People's Army (NPA), the armed wing of the CPP.

The masterminds of the bombing, according to Corpuz, were Buscayno and Jose Luneta, another top communist leader jailed by the military but who escaped afterwards.

Luneta, said military sources, is now the secretary general of the CPP.

Corpuz had earlier pointed to Sison as the third mastermind.

Corpuz said the bombing plot was hatched somewhere in the Sierra Madre mountains 3 months before it was staged.

Through the bombing, the communists hoped to "hasten the development of the revolution" and "intensify the contradiction within the ruling class," Corpuz said.

Corpuz said he did not make this confession during the administration of President Marcos because he felt nobody would believe him then, since Marcos had "zero credibility" at that time.

The 1971 bombing was widely blamed at the time on Marcos because the victims were mostly opposition leaders and their supporters. But Marcos insisted then that the communists were behind the bombing.

Military officials said Corpuz will be given an official assignment soon. In the meantime, he will serve as a "valuable instructor and researcher on the CPP/NPA," they said.

According to Corpuz, 2 months after his release in March, his classmates at the Philippine Military Academy signed a petition appealing to Ramos to have him reinstated in the military service.

Ramos endorsed the petition to Mrs Aquino, together with his favorable recommendation. The president approved it this week.

Corpuz brushed aside suspicions that he was a possible "mole" ordered by the military to penetrate the communist movement. If this were true, he said, then he should not have been jailed for 10 years.

Corpuz said his recent disclosure of the communists being responsible for the 1971 bombing may be ill-timed. He said he didn't intend to make his disclosure until after the trial on the 1983 murder of former Sen Benigno Aquino, Jr. is finished, because "some may think that Mr Marcos was also telling the truth" in saying the communists also killed the president's husband.

Meanwhile, President Aquino, reacting to the allegations of Corpuz that the communists were responsible for the Plaza Miranda bombing in 1971, yesterday said she "will inquire further into the matter."

In a conference with local and foreign newsmen, the president hinted she didn't personally believe the communist rebels were behind the bombing incident which injured several leaders of her husband's party, the Liberal Party.

She said former Sen Jovito Salonga, one of those injured in the bomb attack, "has been pointing to (deposed President) Marcos as the perpetrator of that crime."

Her late husband, former Sen Benigno Aquino, along with the communist leadership, was implicated by Marcos in that incident.

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CSO: 4200/123

CEBU NPA REPORTED PLANNING ECONOMIC SABOTAGE

HK070653 Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 29 Oct 86 pp 1, 3

[Text] Recom 7 [Regional Command] chief Col Edgardo M. Abenina yesterday said the military will intensify its campaign against the Communist led New People's Army (NPA) despite its apparent inactivity.

In an interview, the Recom 7 chief said the military intensified operation against the NPA continues despite the national policy of reconciliation.

He said that since there is no ceasefire order issued by higher military authorities, the anti-desident campaign continues without letup.

Reports [words indistinct] 7 headquarters that the CPP/NPA [Communist Party of the Philippines/New People's Army] have intensified the conduct of sabotage operations, mostly arson targeting both the government and private business sectors.

Abenina warned that the object of the efforts of the insurgents is to disrupt production and damage the industrial and agricultural base of that economy in the hope of exacerbating unrest.

He said the sabotage operation is also carried out whenever firms targetted for extortion refuse to financially support the underground movement.

The primary source of fund of the CPP/NPA is through "progressive taxation" levied on business establishments moneyed individuals, Abenina revealed.

He said these taxes are based on certain percentage of the income of the person or firm. However, Abenina emphasized that firms which fail to give monetary support are harassed by the insurgents through sabotage of equipment abuse of their personnel, or threat of burning their building.

Abenina revealed that in Mindanao alone, the dissidents generate about P74 million yearly from logging concessions and agroindustrial firms and P1 million from legal programs and institutions.

This extortion activities of the CPP/NPA, he said have been confirmed by former MNLF Commander Nur Khan of the Davao Revolutionary Committee.

Khan's revelation, Abenina said, was made after returning to the folds of the law in February 1985 with vital documents turned over the Defense Ministry which include the list of private firms to the CPP/NPA in the Davao provinces.

Abenina warned all sectors of society, especially the business sector of the two pronged drive of the CPP/NPA to topple the government which give emphasis along with the insurgent efforts in the countryside and subversion in urban centers targetting all sectors of society.

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CSO: 4200/123

RVC 7 COMMANDER ON CEBU INSURGENCY THREAT

HK070647 Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 29 Oct 86 pp 1, 3

[Text] Despite marked progress, the military in Region 7 has not entirely gone over [as published] the insurgency crisis and Cebu has remained the area most seriously threatened by the Communists in the whole of Central Visayas.

This was the assessment made by RUC-7 [Regional Unified Command] commander Brig Gen Romulo Querubin in an exclusive talk with VISAYAN HERALD yesterday.

The newly promoted RUC-7 chief said that the insurgents are particularly interested in Cebu because of the place's political influence over the capital.

Querubin warned of the delicate situation now prevailing all over the country. He said the insurgency problem should not be taken lightly because history shows that Communists almost always triumph in every place they had tried to capture.

He cited Vietnam, Kampuchea and Nicaragua as examples.

The communists are organized and determined, Querubin said as he cautioned against the people's seemingly very complacent attitude toward the problem.

According to him until lately, the people had been apathetic every time the issue of communism was brought out.

He also urged on local government executives to openly and actively support the military in its fight against insurgency. "It is now too late to talk about ideologies," Querubin called on. [sentence as published]

He disclosed that his command is planning to launch shortly a provincial counter-insurgency program in which the local officials would have to play a major part.

The chances of repelling the rebels lie entirely in the people. The support of the people is the most effective weapon against Godless communism, and fortunately Filipinos are God-fearing people, Querubin hopefully declared.

These Communists are hiding behind legitimate nationalist organization, and there is only a thin line between nationalism and communism, the general warned.

A VISAYAN HERALD team headed by publisher and editor Al Alinsug yesterday visited Querubin at the RUC-7 headquarters in Camp Lapulapu.

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MITRA IDENTIFIES PROPOSED EXTRA NEGOTIATORS

HK101330 Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 8 Nov 86 pp 1, 15

[Text] Government peace negotiator Ramon Mitra Jr. has proposed two new members in the government panel in the negotiations with leaders of the communist National Democratic Front (NDF).

Mitra, also the agriculture and food minister, said yesterday the proposed new members are AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] vice chief of staff Maj Gen Eduardo Ermita and Maj Gen (ret) Jose Magno, presidential adviser on military affairs.

Mitra said he made the proposal after the NDF leaders Satur Ocampo and Antonio Zumel also proposed the inclusion of four additional NDF leaders in their panel whose names were not revealed.

Mitra said the approval of the new members will be taken up during their meeting next week. Both panels will also discuss the 30-day ceasefire set by the government.

Mitra told reporters that the number of days during which the ceasefire will take effect is still negotiable.

Mitra also debunked the contention of some quarters that the request for a longer period of ceasefire by the NDF leaders would enable the leaders to consolidate their powers.

"We still believe that the NDF leaders are in good faith in conducting the peace negotiations so that they will not resort to consolidating their power," Mitra said.

In the event of a longer ceasefire, Mitra said, the military is still at an advantage because by the time the ceasefire is ended and no progress is attained, the military would be stronger because of the arrival of new helicopters and other equipment from the United States by that time.

Assuming that the agreement for the period ofthe ceasefire has been reached, the leaders of both panels will discuss the safe conduct pass and security of the people involved in the negotiations.

Discussion on this matter is expected to be easy because agreements on some points have already been reached and only a formal agreement is needed, Mitra said.

Mitra also said that the military will purge the abusive military personnel and other members of the civilian home defense force (CHDF).

Mitra said the government is really bent on cleaning the military of "bad eggs" even without the request of the NDF leaders.

"We will remove military personnel who are not supposed to hold guns," Mitra said.

He also announced that the place of the secretariat and the place where the negotiation would take place is expected to be announced next week.

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CSO: 4200/123

PHILIPPINES

MILITARY IN COMBAT READINESS IN MINDANAO, SULU, PALAWAN

HK071521 Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 7 Nov 86 p 16

[Text] Davao City--The military is in combat readiness in the face of the volatile situation in Mindanao, Sulu, and Palawan.

This was the gist of a 3-hour briefing on the Mindanao situation by the Southern Command (South-com), with the participation of the Regional Unified Command (RUC) of Central and Southeastern Mindanao, for Gen Fidel V. Ramos who failed to come. In his place, Maj Gen Eduardo Ermita, vice chief of staff, attended the briefing held at the Kasipagan hall of RUC 11, this city.

Brig Gen Cesar F. Tapia, Southcom chief, reported to General Ermita an increase in the number of New People's Army (NPA) guerrillas in Southern Philippines.

From 25 guerrilla fronts recently, Tapia said there are now a total of 27 CPP [Communist Party of the Philippines]-NPA fronts in Mindanao. The two new fronts, he said, are in the Agusan-Davao and Davao City-Davao del Norte areas. Nineteen of these fronts are found in Southeastern Mindanao.

A "guerrilla front" is a territory composed of around five towns, with its own political organization (NDF), a party committee (CPP) that leads a sizeable armed force (NPA) composed of regulars and militiamen.

Proof of the buildup of the communist insurgents in Mindanao, Tapia said, was the killing of at least 131 troopers, militiamen and civilians by rebels either by raid or ambuscades last month.

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COTABATO BRIGADE TO UNITE CHRISTIANS, MUSLIMS

HK110625 Davao City PEOPLE'S DAILY FORUM in English 24 Oct 86 p 5

[Article by Vilma Flauta]

[Text] Cotabato City--The army's "Gardites" 2/12 Brigade shall be reactivated and initially be located at Pigkalagan, Cotabato Province previously occupied by the Second Brigade of the Second Division.

The 12th Infantry Brigade (separate) Civilian Military Operations Detachment (CMOD) chief Major Jose Ybanes said the newly organized tactical brigade is under the stewardship of Col Mateo V. Bawagan, who is presently the deputy commander of the 12th Brigade.

On the other hand, Bawagan said he would welcome any recommendations, suggestions or complaints from the civilians regarding military abuses under his command. He further stressed that in order to achieve their objective, a call for unity among the different groups of people is needed. "We must encourage our soldiers and the civilian populace to work together in the spirit of reconciliation under the new government" Bawagan added.

The Gardites Brigade, it was known, is the second tactical brigade (separate) under Col Buenaventura S. Tabo. The first was the 1st Infantry Brigade (1/12) with headquarters located at Buayan, General Santos City.

The primary purpose of the unit is to forge and unite the Muslims and Christians in their area of responsibility.

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CSO: 4200/123

PAPER ON PROSPECTS OF PEACE TALKS RESULTS

HK101545 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 9 Nov 86 p 10

[Article by staff member Sheila S. Coronel]

[Text] The prospects for lasting peace remain fragile. Though the cease-fire negotiations between the Aquino government and the National Democratic Front [NDF] moved forward this week, much more needs to be done if permanent peace is to be achieved.

Definitely, the obstacles to peace are formidable. The government and the military remain divided on whether the cease-fire effort will succeed in containing the insurgency.

Debate rages as well within the ranks of the NDF as they seek to refine and redefine the tactics of dealing with a popularly supported liberal democratic government.

Yet, these many and varied voices agreed that insurgency has its roots in a social structure that breeds poverty and oppression. But sharing this basic insight does not necessarily lead to identical visions of peace.

The military equates peace with a vanquished enemy; thus, it cautions that the rebels will never lay down their arms. "In spite of expectations of success in the cease-fire negotiations, the prospects for the resolution of the insurgency remain uncertain," the official AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] briefing paper on the security situation said.

The paper said that the insurgents will only take advantage of the cease-fire to advance their arms supply. The rebels' ultimate goal, said Brig Gen Isidro B. Agunod, assistant secretary of defense for plans and programs, is "to control and dominate a few crucial activities and events to attain legitimate political power and dominance."

Thus, certain factions in the military, particularly that identified with Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, do not agree that the peace negotiations will work.

"Let's whack them (the rebels) first before we talk," an Enrile aide said, arguing that the government will be able to negotiate from a position of strength only after it has delivered major blows to the rebels.

The government believes, however, that a mail-fist policy, such as Marcos used, would only fuel the insurgency's growth. It has chosen to gamble on peace instead.

In the government's view, a Malacanang official said, a cease-fire would provide a breather, allowing it time to consolidate and stabilize as well as to get its economic recovery program going. If living conditions improve, then rebels can be attracted to go down from the hills and rejoin the mainstream of national life. Thus, President Aquino released last week P1 billion for a rehabilitation program for rebel returnees.

The rebels, on the other hand, see the peace negotiations as an opportunity to lay their demands on the bargaining table and explain their program to the people.

"We are not asking the government to implement the NDF program," NDF negotiator Satur Ocampo said in a press conference last week. "What we intend to do is lay down certain aspects of the NDF program based on the manifestation of various sectors--peasants, workers, urban poor, professionals and others--so that the government may have an idea of how to approach these problems."

"At most," Ocampo said, "we expect the beginning of a modus vivendi or mutual cooperation toward achieving specific reforms that will lead to the resolution of the fundamental problems."

In the substantive phase of the negotiations, the rebels are expected to raise issues like land reform, the redistribution of wealth, the U.S. bases and other questions related to economic equity and national sovereignty.

Even if it wanted to, however, the government would be hard out to meet these demands. It does not have the logistics for a massive economic upliftment program. Furthermore, its redistributive aspects will likely encounter stiff resistance from the landlords and businessmen who are also part of President Aquino's broad base of support.

Moreover, the restiveness of the military, especially with regard to current insurgency policy, is expected to continue for some time more, thus weakening the government's political will to arrive at a settlement with the insurgents.

With the threat of a coup continually hanging, the government cannot devote maximum attention to resolving the insurgency. The coup threat could hold the government hostage to what various factions in the military believe to be the correct insurgency policy.

Unless President Aquino is able to wield effective control over the recalcitrants in both the military and within her own government, she cannot effectively pursue her vision of peace.

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CSO: 4200/123

DAILY REPORTS DIFFERENCES STALLING TRUCE AGREEMENT

HK071107 Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 7 Nov 86 p 16

[Article by reporters Michael D. Marasigan and Teodoro Y. Montelibano]

[Text] Peace negotiators agreed Wednesday on safety and immunity guarantees to members of the communist panel, but failed to agree on the proposed ceasefire agreement, government sources said yesterday. The safety and immunity guarantees accord will be signed only after a truce agreement is reached, they added.

The sources said negotiations on the ceasefire were stalled because of disagreements on the length of the truce period and on the definition of hostile acts.

The National Democratic Front [NDF] submitted last Wednesday to the government panel two draft agreements on "a preliminary ceasefire" and "on safety and immunity guarantees and physical centers and facilities."

The NDF wanted a 100-day ceasefire period starting 10 December up to March next year, but government negotiators last Wednesday made a counter offer of a 30-day ceasefire period to start on 27 November. Both sides failed to agree on this point, sources said.

Another area of disagreement is the definition of "hostile acts."

Under the NDF draft agreement on a preliminary ceasefire, hostilities are defined as--aircraft bombing; artillery shelling; naval gunfire; attacks; raids; ambuscades; sabotage; kidnapping; hijacking of aircraft, vessels and vehicles; extortion; arson; liquidation; coercion; threats; grenade throwing; disarming (agawarmas); surveillance; molestation; search, arrest and apprehension; illegal strikes; boycotts; and demonstrations.

Despite the disagreement on the length of ceasefire period and on the definition of "hostilities," both panels are optimistic that they can reach accord during the next meeting tentatively scheduled next week.

The approved accord covers two main subjects: safety and immunity guarantees and physical centers and facilities. It provides among other things, "absolute, binding, permanent and irrevocable immunity from search, arrest and prosecution of those persons who will assist the NDF during the peace talks as consultants, lawyers, staff persons or any other capacity including lessors, lenders and owners of houses, offices, buildings, motor vehicles and other properties, for all acts performed or utterances made in connection with their duties relating to the peace talks, regardless of whether their services are volunteered or remunerated."

In addition the NDF proposed that the government issue safe conduct passes to the NDF negotiators, staff persons, consultants, security men and to others who are directly assisting in the peace talks.

The passes will be valid and irrevocable for the duration of the peace talks and for no less than 30 days after the talks have ended.

The government approved this, but sources refused to say whether the government panel introduced some changes.

The government "likewise irrevocably waives its right to utilize any and all materials, information and data submitted to or produced in the course of the peace talks as evidence in any criminal, civil, administrative or quasijudicial investigation or proceeding in which the rights of any individual may be impaired or placed in jeopardy."

The passes shall guarantee the holder of his right to freedom from search, arrest, apprehension, surveillance, molestation and questioning. NDF security men given the pass shall have the authority to carry firearms.

The proposed agreement also calls for the establishment of a venue for the peace talks in Metro Manila or in any other place as mutually agreed by both parties.

For the duration of the peace talks, both parties shall be allowed to maintain offices and residences as they may deem appropriate.

Government peace negotiators Agriculture and Food Minister Ramon Mitra, Commission on Audit Chief Teofisto Guingona and Maris Diokno (representing her sick father, Human Rights Committee head former Senator Jose Diokno), met with NDF panelists Satur Ocampo and Antonio Zumel for over 3 hours in an undisclosed place last Wednesday afternoon.

The government negotiators reportedly presented the government's refined position on the 100-day ceasefire proposed by Zumel and Ocampo.

Mitra told Malacanang reporters that the government reinterated a 30-day ceasefire which could be extended if some progress in the talks could be made during that period.

There was no "fundamental objection" to the 30-day ceasefire proposal, Mitra said.

The rebels, however, brought up a technical problem. They said they would have difficulty in informing their people in the field within that period as they are not equipped with adequate standard means of communications.

Mitra confirmed that one of the most difficult points to be discussed with the NDF is "probably actions to be classified under hostilities."

Mitra said these actions must be spelled out clearly so that no misunderstanding will arise.

He also said while the rebels gave no assurance that they will not use the ceasefire period to consolidate their forces, the government may not directly ask for such an assurance.

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PHILIPPINES

BUSCAYNO ACCUSES MILITARY OF TRUCE SABOTAGE

OW071309 Tokyo KYODO in English 1248 GMT 7 Nov 86

[Text] Manila, 7 Nov (KYODO)--Former communist rebel chief Bernabe Buscayno accused the Philippine military and defense establishment of trying to "sabotage anew" truce talks with rebels by blaming him and other former communist leaders for a 1971 bomb attack in Manila.

"These charges are a pack of lies...these accusations are intended to destabilize the government and destroy the peace process," the former head of the New People's Army (NPA) told a hastily called news conference Friday afternoon.

The accusations were made by former communist leader Victor Corpuz who told reporters Friday morning the communist hierarchy ordered the attack to "hasten the contradictions within the ruling class."

He appeared to reporters in a suburban military camp to confirm newspaper reports quoting him as blaming the grenade attack on leaders of the Liberal Party on the communists.

Nine persons were killed and 98 wounded in the attack that led former President Ferdinand Marcos to suspend the writ of habeas corpus and order the arrest of suspected communists whom he blamed for the carnage.

Buscayno recalled last September when an agreement between the government and rebel panels was about to be reached, the military suddenly captured (alleged Communist Party Chairman) Rodolfo Salas, his wife and a member of the (rebel) NDF staff.

"Now that an agreement is about to be reached on a ceasefire, the military has come out with lies to destroy the peace talks," Buscayno charged.

Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile has tagged communist urban guerrillas as responsible for a series of bombing attacks which have hit Manila in the past weeks. But military authorities have pinned the blame on supporters of Marcos.

Buscayno said he was willing to face his accuser and raised the possibility of filing a libel suit against Corpuz whom he said was a comrade and a friend.

Corpuz also told newsmen he was to be reinstated this month in the military with the rank of lieutenant colonel and said that his reported capture in 1976 was a surrender. He said he left the rebel army because he could no longer "in conscience continue serving the party."

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EDITORIAL SUPPORTS HUNDRED-DAY TRUCE

HK101229 Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 8 Nov 86 p 6

[Editorial: Hundred Day Syndrome"]

[Text] The rebels want the ceasefire to last 100 days and labor would like a 100-day moratorium on strikes and layoffs. Somebody has yet to make a study on the reasons for the common inclination of protagonists on two fronts to call for a 100-day truce. Is this somehow related to the 100-day honeymoon with the press of a newly elected president?

No matter. The syndrome involves a cessation of hostile action and maybe it reflects the desire of a tired people to shift from a bloody confrontation to constructive competition.

Blood has been spilled in the provinces since the beginning of the last decade. Labor conflicts have increased in number and intensity since 1983 because the economic pie has become smaller. It is not improbable that thinking elements realized it was time to get off the treadmill of discord.

To realize the folly of conflict is the first requirement of progress. For how can people be induced to stay on in the provinces if the government cannot guarantee their safety? How can business flourish if the behavior of the work force is erratic or, vice versa, how can the workers be productive if their welfare is taken for granted? And how can people find employment if on account of hostile factors in the environment the economy ceases to grow?

We are for letting people talk of a 100 days of peace or moratorium. It seems to indicate a new awareness and we cannot help but note its spontaneity.

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COLUMNIST DESCRIBES 'FEAR', RIGHTISTS' TREND

Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 30 Oct 86 p 4

["My Cup of Tea" Column by Ninez Cacho-Olivares: "All Those Long, Dar Years"]

[Text] When one feeds on fear, one sometimes attains a measure of success. It can perhaps be said that Juan Ponce Enrile, these past few months, has succeeded in whipping up the anti-communist hysteria by injecting, in all his speeches, the danger of a communist takeover. Many of the so-called moderates I knew, it seems to me, have become such "rightists" whenever the subject of communism crops up. It is understandable. When fear takes over, everything is somehow seen through distorted lenses. Thus, when anti-communists like Juan Ponce Enrile and his ilk tell an audience that there are leftists and communists in government, the immediate reaction would be that of fear — the fear that the Aquino government will soon be swallowed up by the extreme left. Never mind if these Cabinet ministers are not communists but liberals and progressives. The fear has already taken over. And because these ministers do not take the conservative view, they are immediately viewed as leftists and communists.

Thus, when Juan Ponce Enrile tells his audience that, for democracy to survive, communist insurgents must be wiped out from the face of this earth through a mailed fist policy, many cheer at the prospect of an all-out war against the insurgents. But they hardly ever stop to think of certain important factors. For instance, can the government budget support an all-out war against the insurgents? War means additional pesos and centavos. It means getting more and more soldiers to replace the dead and wounded. It means more instability for the government in power, if it doesn't win the war immediately. It means a lot more things — a lot of consequences, a lot of tears and heartaches — if the government, after declaring war on insurgents, will be unable to quash them.

Juan Ponce Enrile and Gen. Fidel Ramos know that these are likely to occur if an all-out war against the insurgents is declared. But when things get rough and tough, will they ever admit that they made a mistake? I doubt it. There will always be excuses. Perhaps one excuse would be that the government did not support them all the way. Another would be that the Aquino government dallied too long with the peace negotiations, thereby giving the communists sufficient time to regroup, organize and prepare themselves better for the war. Or, they could say that the government failed to weed out corruption or that the socio-economic programs were never implemented. In brief, the blame wil be laid on the central government, and never on the military and defense establishments.

But think about it. Who's pushing for deadlines? Who's pushing for a mailed fist policy against the insurgents? The defense minister and his boys are. So are General Fidel Ramos and his boys. So are the American officials. And Mrs. Aquino is buying that line. And a lot of Filipinos seem to be buying that line as well. But can the Aquino government survive when an all-out war is waged against the insurgents?

Who are these people who now speak of the dangers of the communist threat? Who are these people who speak as if they and only they can lick the insurgents? Who are these people who claim that the military has reformed and is professional? Juan Ponce Enrile, the same Marcos minister who failed to quash the insurgency during his long stint as secretary of defense. The same secretary of defense who, knowing that the martial law scenario was faked, said nothing about it, for years and years. This is the defender of democracy? And, after serving Mr. Marcos faithfully for a great number of years, this self-annointed defender of democracy speaks of corruption in government, of an efficient judiciary and an honest local governments. One wonders: what did he do for democracy all those years? For that matter, what did he do for democracy during the last elections in his region? What did he do for democracy when the Batasan proclaimed Mr. Marcos the winner?

Mr. Enrile was a marked man during the last few years of the Marcos regime. He and his boys, as admitted by some reformists, had a plan to oust Marcos. That plan failed and, to save their skins, they barricaded themselves in an army camp. And when the four-day revolution happened, all of a sudden, the past is forgotten. The slate is expected to be wiped clean. All of a sudden, the military atrocities committed are to be forgotten and ignored. All of a sudden, his role during the martial law years is considered unimportant. His failure to quell the communist movement in the past is glossed over. And when it does crop up, the excuses are there, ready for all to hear. It wasn't his fault. It was Marcos's fault. Marcos used the army for his own protection. But if Mr. Enrile, the anti-communist, was truly concerned about the growth of the insurgency, or that the communists would swallow the country soon, why then did he not go to luncheons and dinners and flag-raising ceremonies to denounce the Marcos government for its corruption, for its corrupt judiciary, for its ministers and local government officials who were, together with Marcos, milking the country dry?

He should have, if he loved the country as he claims he does. He should have, if he was truly the defender of democracy that he says he is. He should have, if he really believed that what the country really needed was an honest and clean government beyond suspicion and not affected by corruption.

Why then, did he not speak up all those long, dark years?

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CABINET APPROVES 4 BILLION PESOS FOR HOUSING

Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 30 Oct 86 pp 1, 2

[Text] The Cabinet yesterday approved a plan to build 91,800 housing units in 1987 at a cost of P4,134 million.

It also gave the National Housing Authority a go-ahead to build 15,193 units worth P251 million for low income earners.

Press Secretary Teodoro Benigno told newsmen these projects would be the start of an integrated housing development program designed to cope with the housing shortage.

He said the program called for creation of a housing and urban development council that would put the financing and construction aspects of the program in one package.

The program aims to provide credit financing for at least 37% of urban housing requirements in 1987, and 44% by 1991. The private sector is expected to fill up the remainder.

Benigno said the Social Security System would contribute P1.2 billion, the Government Service Insurance System P700 million, the Home Development Bank Fund (Pag-IBIG Fund) and the National Home Mortgage Finance Corp. P1.2 billion, in addition to P1 billion in foreign loans.

About 264,000 housing units will be needed in 1987 alone, according to the Cabinet's estimate. In approving the housing program, the Cabinet stressed that housing should be within the means of low-income groups.

The program was submitted to the Cabinet by Herminio Aquino, deputy executive secretary for human settlements; Government Reorganization Minister Luis Villafuerte, National Economic and Development Authority director general Solita Monsod and GSIS manager Feliciano Belmonte Jr.

Nuclear Plant. Presidential legal counsel Rene Saguisag, reporting to the cabinet on the status of negotiations regarding the Bataan nuclear power plant said the government would seek the counsel of Washington to sell P1 billion worth of nuclear fuel stock. He also said the Nuclear Power Plant Committee, which he heads, would seek additional financial help from the United Nations Center for Transnational Corporations to finance the committee's work.

The Philippines News Agency quoted Benigno as saying that three groups of American companies have expressed interest in buying the plant's uranium.

The uranium was previously intended as fuel for the plant in Morong, Bataan, which the government has abandoned for inadequacy of safeguards.

Benigno did not identify the three groups of prospective American buyers, pending final negotiations, the PNA said.

Saguisag arrived recently from the United States where he scouted for possible buyers of the unused uranium fuel.

Approval of the US Department of Energy is necessary in connection with any sale of uranium to the Philippines and vice-versa.

Benigno quoted Saguisag as saying that he had consulted American government lawyers on the possibility of fraud in transactions concerning the construction of the nuclear power plant.

The government pays $360,000 daily in interest on loans obtained for the plant's construction and for infrastrucures in the plant site.

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CB NET LENDINGS TO GOVERNMENT EXCEED 7 BILLION PESOS

HK071307 Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 7 Nov 86 p 2

[Text] The national government last 16 October paid P1.3 billion in interest on foreign loans acquired during the previous years, using credit from the Central Bank [CB], according to CB data made available to BUSINESS DAY.

As a result, the CB's net lendings to the national government jumped P1.3 billion to P7,405 million during 13-17 October from P6,062 million a week before.

It was the first time in recent months that the government's net borrowings from the CB exceeded P7 billion. They had remained at about P6 billion before 13 October.

At the height of election spending in February, the net credit of the national government reached more than P10 billion, prompting the CB to sell high-yield government securities weeks later to mop up the excess money in the economy.

The foreign obligations paid last month had been assured by the CB from the government under the country's agreement with foreign bank creditors. Under the terms of that agreement, the P1.3 billion borrowed from the CB was deposited with the CB.

There was therefore no effect on the "reserve money," the key element of the money supply. Consisting of money in circulation and deposits of banks with the CB, the reserve money actually went down to P39,662 million on 13-17 October from P40,127 million the previous week.

The reserve money is one of the key indicators being monitored by the International Monetary Fund in connection with its credit program with the Philippines.

Reserve money together with reserve eligible securities (known as the "monetary base") should not exceed P51 billion at yearend, according to IMF requirements.

Latest CB data also showed that liquidity in the banking system continued to increase. The reserve position of the commercial banks as a whole continued to improve.

For the week of 10 to 16 October, commercial banks recorded an aggregate reserve deficit of only P25 million compared to about P548 million in the previous week.

Total available reserves, set aside as a portion of deposits, reached P20,205 million during the period as compared to P20,230 million required under CB regulations.

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EMPLOYERS' GROUP PROPOSES STRIKE MORATORIUM

HK031519 Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 3 Nov 86 p 2

[Article by reporter Gethsemane M. Selirio]

[Text] The Employers Confederation of the Philippines (ECOP) has proposed a 1-year moratorium on strikes and lockouts to "set the climate" for an economic upturn.

ECOP President Raoul M. Inocentes made the proposal last week, during a meeting of top business and labor leaders and officials of the Labor Ministry. It was the second round of exploratory talks on the possibility of such a moratorium.

Inocentes said 1 year would be enough time for the economic recovery program to make a headway, but added that the duration of the proposed moratorium remained "negotiable."

Three labor groups during the meeting called for a restructuring of the entire labor relations system to achieve "lasting industrial harmony."

Assisted by a slide presentation, Phil Joson, national treasurer of the Federation of Free Workers (FFW), expounded on a need to discuss a "lasting solution" to labor unrest.

Joson said that if labor agreed to a strike moratorium now, it might not be implemented effectively. He noted, for instance, that many strikes are not supported by the labor federations whose officials comprise of Labor Advisory Consultative Council (LACC) which is negotiating for labor in the moratorium talks, but are staged by the "harassed" workers and union leaders.

Joson called for two measures to improve the labor relations system: setting up a three-tier bargaining system which would involve local, industry and national unions; and improving the Labor Ministry's dispute settlement machinery.

These proposals were endorsed by the FFW, the Trade Unions of the Philippines and Allied Services (TUPAS) and the Lakas ng Manggagawa-Independent Unions [Strength of the workers--independent unions).

Kilusang Mayo Uno [1 May Movement] (KMU) legal counsel Petenciano Flores said the KMU would still have to study the suggestions.

The KMU's apparent hesitation has caused speculations that there may be a rift in LACC. Joson told BUSINESS DAY that the KMU was not included in the labor panel's position because "they did not want to be."

Explaining the reason for the new proposal, Paterno Monson of the Independent Unions said, "We tried not to be reactionary before the employers."

He said the labor groups were keeping an open mind on the moratorium proposal and that they had a "long-range view" of the whole issue.

KMU Chairman Rolando M. Olalia explained that the LACC had agreed during a meeting preceding the moratorium talks that it would not present a position until the employers had presented theirs. "They changed their minds, I was surprised," Olalia said of Joson's slide presentation.

Olalia laughed off suggestions that the other labor groups may be trying to isolate the KMU so that rival Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP) could take its place in the LACC.

If this is true, he said, "we accept the challenge. Let them take over."

The TUCP, which is not a member of the LACC, was not represented in last week's talks although its top officials attended the first meeting held about 2 weeks ago.

Olalia said he had decided to "lay off temporarily" on the moratorium talks—which appears to be a step away from backing out. He said the KMU would not attend the third meeting, scheduled for this week, because it would still have to discuss the other labor groups' position and the employers' proposal.

"In the meantime, we will continue exercising maximum restraint," Olalia said. "We will religiously, faithfully and strictly observe maximum restraint (in declaring strikes) with or without the moratorium."

The KMU recently issued a joint communique with the National Economic Protectionism Association (NEPA) which formalized a policy of maximum restraint in calling for strikes, particularly those against "nationalist businessmen."

Despite the differences between the labor leaders and the employers, and among labor groups, officials of the Labor Ministry remained optimistic that the talks would lead to a viable agreement. Deputy Labor Minister for industrial relations Franklin M. Drilon gave the talks a "60-40" chance of success.

Labor Minister Augusto S. Sanchez said a KMU pullout was "very hypothetical." Asked if a moratorium could succeed without the KMU, he paused noticeably before saying, "Yes."

"It's not simply a 1-year moratorium that needs to be discussed," Sanchez said. "There are conditions. And naturally, KMU will have to input (some of those) conditions."

LACC leaders reiterated during the meeting that they could not accept a complete moratorium on strikes.

Olalia had previously said that a moratorium would not mean abandonment of workers' right to strike, and that during a moratorium unions could strike on valid grounds, such as deadlocks in collective bargaining.

Labor leaders had also demanded the other week that the employers adopt a moratorium on lockouts, layoffs and retrenchments.

After the first meeting the other week, Sanchez said a written agreement was possible in about 2 weeks.

The meeting last week showed a wide gap between the nature of the proposals by the labor and employers panels.

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PAPER VIEWS ONGOING STRIKE MORATORIUM EFFORTS

HK110712 Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 10 Nov 86 p 2

[Article by reporter Gethsemane M. Selirio]

[Text] With ideological differences among major labor groups starting to show, efforts toward a moratorium on strikes and lockouts are being carried out on two fronts.

The first front is "mini-tripartite" negotiation among top labor, management and the Labor Ministry officials on a moratorium. After three meetings, the tripartite group has reached a consensus that a standstill is necessary and that only the duration and conditions remain to be discussed.

A second front involves the alliance between the Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU) [1 May movement] and the National Economic Protectionism Association (NEPA), an organization of "nationalist businessmen." So far, the KMU and the NEPA have agreed that unions will exercise "maximum restraint" in declaring strikes, particularly those against "nationalist Filipino businessmen."

Involved in both fronts, the KMU, considered as the most militant labor organization, differences among the groups in the Labor Advisory Consultative Council (LACC) coming into play, the KMU is expected to discontinue its participation in the moratorium meetings initiated by the Labor Ministry.

Erstwhile involved in both fronts, the militant KMU is expected to discontinue its participation in the "mini-tripartite" meetings because of ideological differences among organizations in the Labor Advisory Consultative Council (LACC).

BUSINESS DAY sources in the KMU yesterday said KMU officials would issue a resolution during their National Council meeting today and tomorrow in which they would reject any agreement of the LACC on an "absolute moratorium."

Such a moratorium has been proposed by the Labor Ministry in a draft memorandum of understanding.

Last week, Paterno Menzon, chairman of the Lakas ng Manggagawa Independent Union [Workers' strength independent unions], in behalf of the LACC proposed a 100-day "ceasefire" on strikes and lockouts.

Although KMU was represented in the meeting by two of its officials, it made no commitment on the Menzon-initiated proposal.

Sources said the KMU would concentrate on forging a similar strikes/lockouts moratorium agreement with the NEPA.

An accord is being drafted and will be finalized at the end of this week, they said.

The KMU and NEPA are expected to agree on a long-term moratorium in small and medium-scale businesses owned by Filipinos, and reaffirm the policy of "maximum restraint" in declaring strikes against "nationalist Filipino businessmen."

The Labor Ministry's proposal for an "absolute moratorium" concerns strike and lockouts in all industries. The KMU is set to reject this proposal in its meeting this week and discontinue its attendance in the "mini-tripartite" meetings initiated by the ministry, the sources in the KMU said.

Meanwhile, a top military official said last week that 630,000 workers or 3 percent of the country's labor force of 21 million may be considered as sympathizers of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Philippine Constabulary/Integrated National Police [PC-INP] chief Renato S. de Villa said in a speech delivered by his military aide before the Philippine Council of Management that the great majority in the labor force "are merely drawn into the stream of activism through the adroit manipulation and exploitation by CPP agitators and propagandists."

De Villa said the labor sector holds a key position in the "programs of infiltration by the CPP, as indicated in the party's organizational structure." At present, he said, seven major functional commissions operate under the CPP Central Committee, one of which is the National Commission for Mass Movements and its National Trade Union Department.

This department is tasked with formulating CPP strategies and tactics in the labor movement, training political cadres in the labor sector, and building secret party organizations or underground cells through alliances with labor unions, De Villa said.

Primary targets of the CPP infiltration programs are strategic factories that employ many workers, particularly the multinational corporations, he added. Other main targets are those providing essential services, such as transportation and communications.

"It cannot be discounted that a sizable portion of the prevailing labor unrest is brought about by legitimate demands raised by unions. But more striking to note are the political programs carried by a significant number of groups and which are only being camouflaged by genuine trade union issues," De Villa said.

During the same forum, KMU Chairman Rolando Olalia dismissed all talk about communist infiltration in the labor movement as part of the military's "red-scare tactics." Olalia said communists have been present in the labor front since "time immemorial" and are not the cause of the prevailing labor unrest in the country.

The current problem of labor unrest is "being blown out of proportion," Olalia said. "While it is true that there has been a marked increase in the number of strikes after the fall of the Marcos regime, the fact is that the magnitude of labor unrest does not as yet threaten the viability of the government's economic thrusts, much less the stability of the country's economic and social system."

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BALANCE OF PAYMENTS IMPROVES IN 8 MONTHS

Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 30 Oct 86 p 21

[Text] The balance of payments position of the country during the first eight months of the year showed significant improvement compared to the same period last year, indicating some recovery in the economy, Central Bank Governor Jose B. Fernandez Jr. said in a speech in a meeting in Australia last week.

Speaking before meetings in Australia sponsored by the Pacific Basin Economic Council, Fernandez said a current account surplus of $813 million was achieved from January to August this year, representng a sharp turn-around from a $38 million deficit during the same period last year.

"Improved confidence both in the political and economic management of the country has resulted in a reflow of capital as well as improved current collections on the country's normal sources of non-trade receipts," Feenandez said.

The payment surplus on non-trade items for the first eight months of the year amounted to $598 million.

Inflows of official development assistance (ODA) to the country likewise increased to $370 million during the first eight months of the year compared to $355 million during the comparative period last year.

Increased ODA inflows and a substantial amount of payment surplus on non-trade items raised the level of the country's international reserves to $1.8 billion as of the first week of this month, a significant improvement from the $1.1 billion level at the beginning of the year, he said.

The current level of the country's international reserves is more than adequate to finance more than four months of the country's import requirements.

Fernandez also reported that the offical peso-dollar exchange rate and the country's external debt situation have stabilized.

While noting positive indicators in the economy, Fernandez said the country's political and economic managers remain concerned with the economy's lack of growth.

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CSO: 4200/111

PHILIPPINES

DEFLATION RATE SLOWS IN OCTOBER

HK061419 Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 6 Nov 86 p 2

[Text] For the 4th consecutive month, general consumer prices in the country decreased in October from a year ago although they went up slightly over September, according to a National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) report.

However, the "deflation"--a relatively unfamiliar term after many years of inflation--has slowed down. The NEDA has registered its rates at 0.48 percent for October, 1.12 percent for September, 1.6 percent for August and 1.38 percent for July.

July was the first month in many years when commodity prices in the country decreased from year-ago levels. In June, inflation reached bottom at 0.37 percent.

The NEDA recorded the consumer price index (CPI), the measure of price movements for a select set of essential commodities, at 352.9 points for October as against 351.8 points in September, with 1978 as base year.

These figures indicate that a basket of goods priced at P100 in 1978 were priced at P352.90 last month, as against P354 in October last year.

The highest-ever inflation rate was recorded in October 1984, at 63.8 percent. Based on the CPI, a set of consumer goods priced at P320.10 in October 1984 were priced at only P195.40 in October 1983.

For the last month, the start of the fourth quarter when prices usually rise, the NEDA observed a general uptrend over September in Metro Manila.

The CPI for the region rose by 0.70 percent to 373.6 points from 371.0 in September and by 4.65 percent in October last year.

The Metro Manila rise slackened the nationwide deflation.

In areas outside Metro Manila, commodity prices went down 1.47 percent last month from October 1985.

Most food items registered price increases throughout the country, the NEDA said. It said significant price markups in fruits and vegetables were observed in all the regions.

In many provinces the prices of meat, rice and miscellaneous foods such as cooking oil and sugar were likewise higher during October.

Corn prices increased noticeably in northern and southern Mindanao, the NEDA added.

It said all these factors during October brought about a 0.68 percent rise in the food, beverages and tobacco price index in the country, 1.25 percent in Metro Manila and 0.56 percent in areas outside Metro Manila.

Prices of cement, pipes and plywood rose in some provinces, but there was a considerable decrease in prices of nails, GI sheets and other construction materials. The housing and repairs index for areas outside Metro Manila decreased 0.03 percent.

In Metro Manila, the housing and repairs index went up by 0.81 percent due to the higher cost of paints, plumbing materials and increased rental fees. For the whole country, the slight decrease in the index in areas outside Metro Manila and the increase in Metro Manila increased the housing and repairs index by 0.19 percent.

The index for miscellaneous items rose 0.11 percent in all areas of the country. This growth, said the NEDA, was brought about by an upswing in prices of household furnishings and furniture and items for personal care and effects in Metro Manila and increases in prices of medicines and items for household operations in areas outside Manila.

The fuel, light and water index continued to drop nationwide.

It went down 0.71 percent for the whole country, 0.25 percent for Metro Manila and 0.78 percent for areas outside Metro Manila.

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CSO: 4200/123

NEWSPAPERS REPORT ON EXPORT OF COCONUT PRODUCTS

Receipts Up 5 Percent

HK061305 Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 6 Nov 86 p 17

[Text] Philippine coconut export receipts inched up by only 5 percent from $407.9 million during the first three-quarters of 1985 to $428.9 million the same 9-month period this year despite the steep rise in the export volume.

The Philippine Coconut Authority (PCA) traced the minimal increase in foreign exchange earnings to the steady decline in the coconut products prices, particularly coconut oil, which reached historical lows never anticipated before.

Volume-wise, there was a dramatic surge in the total export shipments during the first three-quarters this year as it reached 1.7 million metric tons of COPRA terms or a sharp rise of 113.5 percent over the comparable period last year which stood at 820,342 metric tons.

This performance could be attributed to the favorable wealthier conditions and the lifting of the 3-1/2 year old COPRA export ban.

The attractive price of coconut oil, being the lowest among the competing oils in the foreign oil markets during the period in review, has won new markets and reconquered the old ones.

This resulted in the unprecedented rise in coconut oil exports to 128,298 metric tons, or 120.6 percent over the comparable period last year.

When gleaned on a quarterly basis, PCA said, this year's performance in terms of volume was extremely encouraging. From 507.106 metric tons during the first quarter total turnover rose to 535,079 metric tons in the second quarter and further up to 709,309 metric tons in the third quarter.

This year's total shipments for the first 9 months is considered the highest since 1976 when total turnover was recorded at 1.83 million metric tons, in COPRA terms, for the same period.

PCA said total industry earnings until the third quarter could have been higher were it not for the dismal market trend that pushed down prices of coconut products, particularly coconut oil, by an average of 54 percent over the last 9 months.

With an average price of 16.40 cents per pound in the first quarter, 12.90 cents per pound in the second quarter and 10.48 cents per pound in the third quarter, coconut oil price was at its lowest level since 1972 when the average coconut oil price from January to September registered at 8.18 cents per pound.

Coconut Oil Exports Up 155.9 Percent

HK111139 Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 11 Nov 86 p 6

["Economic Indicator" column: "Coco Oil Exports Rise"]

[Text] The volume of crude coconut oil exports rose sharply by 155.9 percent to 806.38 million kilos in the January-August period from a year-ago level of 315.1 million kilos, data from the National Census and Statistics Office (NCSO) showed.

However, earnings from the exports rose only 13.1 percent to 233.987 million from $206.892 million because of low prices.

World market prices of crude coconut oil have plummeted from about 15 U.S. cents a pound at end-January, the lowest in 10 years, to 9.75 cents a pound in August, the lowest ever.

Of the total crude coconut oil exports, 355.4 million kilos or 41.6 percent went to the United States and 202.68 million kilos or 25.1 percent went to Holland. The remainder went to the Soviet Union, West Germany, Turkey, China, Britain, South Korea, Japan, Hong Kong, France, Canada, Puerto Rico, Argentina, Denmark, Spain, Italy, and Pakistan.

Crude Coconut Oil Exports
January to August 1985 & 1986

	Quantity (In thousand kilos)	Export Value (In thousand dollars)
1986		
January	95,765	35,408
February	89,197	32,126
March	90,208	31,989
April	89,443	28,314
May	134,380	29,178
June	90,716	24,296
July	107,770	27,970
August	108,904	24,616
Total	806,383	233,897

1985	Quantity (In thousand kilos)	Export Value (In thousand dollars)
January	31,776	26,644
February	11,575	7,643
March	10,460	8,032
April	55,004	42,288
May	41,445	29,536
June	45,745	28,770
July	79,107	43,776
August	39,989	20,203
Total	315,101	206,892

Source: National Census and Statistics Office

/9604
CSO: 4200/123

PHILIPPINES

BRIEFS

TEAMS TO HANDLE MINDANAO ELECTION PROBLEMS--The Commission on Elections [Comelec] yesterday [7 November] created special action teams to handle problems in five Mindanao provinces and the 1st district of Cebu. The five Mindanao provinces singled out as traditionally problem areas are Lanao del Sur, Lanao del Norte, Sulu, Tawi-Tawi, and Maguindanao. Creation of the special action teams is contained in Resolution No 1791 released by the office of Comelec Chairman Ramon Felipe Jr last Thursday. [Text] [Manila Far East Broadcasting Company in English 2300 GMT 7 Nov 86] /9604

MINDANAO GROUP OPPOSES CHARTER--In Davao City about 400 multi-sectoral leaders in Mindanao rejected the draft constitution during the first Mindanao summit hosted by the Mindanao-Sulu-Palawan Association in that city. The group's stand was contained in a resolution which also urged the Aquino government to withdraw the draft charter before the end of the year. The resolution said, as a consequence, the Aquino government should call a constitutional convention whose delegates will be chosen by the people. The proposed charter, drafted by a constitutional commission whose members were appointed by President Aquino, will be submitted to the people on 2 February next year for ratification. [Text] [Manila Far East Broadcasting Company in English 2300 GMT 9 Nov 86] /9604

PRO-AQUINO, PRO-MARCOS RALLIES--Some 20,000 demonstrators yesterday [9 November] converged at the Liwasang [Plaza] Bonifacio to throw their support behind the government of President Aquino and the ratification of the draft constitution at next year's 2 February plebiscite. The president's brother-in-law Agapito "Butz" Aquino urged the crowd to secure with their lives "our newly found freedom and democracy against those irresponsible and unreasonable people who again want to sow terror and chaos in the society." In another development, some 2,000 Marcos loyalists held their own demonstration at the Quezon Memorial Circle in Quezon City on campaign for the rejection of the proposed charter. The Liwasang Bonifacio rallyists were led by Metro Manila OIC [Officer-in-Charge] Joey Lina and other Metro Manila OIC mayors. [Text] [Manila Far East Broadcasting Company in English 2300 GMT 9 Nov 86] /9604

ABRA NPA TOWNS--Bangued, Abra--Only three out of 27 towns of Abra are infested by New People's Army (NPA) rebels, Lt Col Enrique Cuadra, Abra Constabulary commander said. The towns are Tineg, Lacub and Malibcong where the residents could not freely move due to NPA's presence. However, in most areas where the Cordillera People's Liberation Army (CPLA) and the military are now in the good terms, the residents feel safe in pursuing economic activities like agriculture, fishing, and commerce, Cuadra said. He said that the NPA's will be driven out of the province as they are no longer supported by their civilian mass bases. [Text] [Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 10 Nov 86 p 14] /9604

AQUINO IN CHARGE WHILE AWAY--Presidential Special Counsel Rene Saguisag yesterday [11 November] said that President Corazon Aquino manages the country's affairs even while she is in Japan on an official visit. The report from Art Pabellion: [Begin recording] Presidential Special Counsel Rene Saguisag said yesterday that President Aquino manages the country's affairs even while she is in Japan on an official visit. Saguisag made this clarification, correcting impressions that the country does not have anybody in charge of the affairs of state while the president is away. He said that President Aquino runs the affairs of state with the use of modern means of communications. The president communicates with the (?group) of Secretary Joker Arroyo who, in turn, communicates with Vice President Laurel everyday. The presidential [words indistinct] management is to [words indistinct] administrative order number four which the president issued last 12 August to provide guidelines for the conduct of public affairs when the president is out of the country on official visits. [end recording] [Text] [Manila Far East Broadcasting Company in English 2300 GMT 11 Nov 86] /9604

COALITION SCHEDULES BAGUIO MEETING--In Baguio City, an assembly for the creation of a Cordillera broad coalition will be held tomorrow morning at the Baguio convention center to give opportunities for organizations interested in participating in the talks for peace in the Cordilleras [words indistinct]. The assembly will open at 8 o'clock in the morning. All sectoral groups and organizations who would like to be represented in the coalition are advised to send two representatives each. Also invited to the assembly are government officials of Baguio, Benguet, and other mountain provinces. The formation of the Cordillera Broad Coalition is in answer to the clamor by sectoral groups to be also represented in the peace talks initiated by the government, the Cordillera People's Liberation Army [CPLA], and the Cordillera Bodong [blood pact] Association [CBA]. Representatives of the Cordillera Broad Coalition will be (?formed) and the local government [words indistinct] will meet representatives of the CPLA and the CBA on 15 November to discuss areas of common concern and to plan for the forging of lasting peace in the Cordilleras. [Text] [Baguio City Mountain Province Broadcasting Company in English 0330 GMT 10 Nov 86] /9604

CORDILLERA GROUP'S DEMANDS--Cordillera People's Liberation Army [CPLA] leader Father Conrado Balweg has asked for additional protection during a dialogue between his group and a government panel. This was learned from Officer-in-Charge Mayor Francisco (Palaon) yesterday in an interview with MPBC [Mountain Province Broadcasting Company] news. (Palaon), who is a member of the government panel, said that a committee has been created to hasten the achievement of a lasting peace in the area. The committee has established a secretariat at the [words indistinct] compound in the mansion house, and it has received the main demands of the groups and 10 additional and immediate demands which were announced last Monday by Mr Butz Aquino. The demands which are now being looked into by the government include the following: the opening of a regular bus line between Bontok, Mountain Province, and Tabuk, Kalinga-Apayao; the channelling of the monetary rewards earlier offered by the government for the capture of ranking members of the CPLA to development projects in the Cordilleras; the wholesale cancellation of the Siffu River dam project; and the elimination of middlemen in the coffee and dried beans business in Mountain Province. [Excerpts] [Baguio City Mountain Province Broadcasting Company in English 0400 GMT 9 Nov 86] /9604

DECLINE IN COST OF OIL IMPORTS--Crude oil imports of the Philippines from January to September this year reached only $567.4 million compared with slightly over $1 billion during the same period in 1985. The 44 percent fall in the net oil bill was traced to a drastic drop in oil prices even if there was an actual rise in the volume of crude imports. The Philippine National Oil Co. said yesterday the industry paid an average of only $12.95 per barrel during the first 9 months compared with $26.84 per barrel during the same period last year. The import volume was up 14 percent from 38.78 million barrels to 44.2 million barrels. The industry figures also indicated that there was a perceptible uptrend in the consumption of petroleum products which reached 43.8 million barrels or a rise of 4.7 percent. In the industrial sector, a consumption increase of 8.8 percent was noted with 28.2 million barrels compared with 25.8 million barrels in 1985. The rise in the usage of industrial oil would seem to show that a number of industries have resumed significant operations again probably in the third quarter. During the first half, the industrial sector has generally been known to have operated at less than 50 percent utilization. [Text] [Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 6 Nov 86 p 17] /9604

BUS STRIKES UNRESOLVED--The labor disputes at Pantranco North Express, Inc. and Philippine Rabbit Bus Line Co. remained unresolved as of press time yesterday. The management panel did not show up for a conciliation meeting. Labor Minister Augusto S. Sanchez asked union members to return to work because their strike would make it hard for Metro Manila residents to go to the provinces for the holiday this weekend. The workers refused. In the Philippine Rabbit case, the union demanded that an ownership issue be resolved first. Two families are fighting a legal battle over the company's ownership. [Text] [Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 30 Oct 86 p 1] /13104

CSO: 4200/111

EMIGRE CONDEMNS CGDK, ASKS FOR NEW RESISTANCE GROUP

Paris MOUL KHMER in French Jul-Aug 86 pp 9-11

[Article by Ou Chal]

[Text] Need for a New Resistance Force

Leaving aside the evident complicity of a certain number of foreign governments, the genocide of the past, the Vietnamese colonization program of today, and the present impasse in Cambodia are also the result of the lack of political courage of its people. Cambodians, whether government officials, farmers, or workers--and still worse, their intellectuals, both in Cambodia as well as abroad--are living in an unthinking way, submerged by the weight of the past. Furthermore, they have learned nothing and forgotten nothing. This subconscious form of torture shows itself in different ways.

Fear of Calling a Spade a Spade

Genocide was truly the work of the Khmers Rouges. However, how many Cambodians dared to raise their voices to condemn the tyrants: Pol Pot, Ieng Sary, Khieu Samphan, or Son Sen? If this behavior was that of hostages living Cambodia, under the direct threat of these torturers, that could be understood! Sihanouk and Son Sann were the worst of all. Instead of condemning the tyrants, they lent themselves, whatever the cost--they felt that the preservation of the coalition government required it--to provide them with cover and to present them in the best light! That will not surprise anyone, as so few Cambodians have any confidence in these seriously compromised leaders, since they were very closely tied to the tyrants. These two men have lost all of their vision and all of their courage, retaining only the will to work to bring these assassins back to power, under the pressure of the Chinese. In this connection, they are behaving exactly like robots programed in advance or sleepwalkers under the control of the hypnotizers involved in this affair. What is particularly dangerous is that these robots or sleepwalkers would be quite capable of committing loathsome acts against the true nationalists who are isolated but lack sufficient protection. How could we expect that these machines controlled from elsewhere would act in any other way some day, except in accordance with their self-imposed program? If they speak, they would not be able to call a spade a spade.

Morbid But Criminal Submission

Like other people, the Cambodians love their country very much. Unfortunately, their day to day actions are irresponsible. Cultural or religious meetings successfully attract almost all of the community. However, a meeting with the true political objective of liberating the people only brings together a few hundred Cambodians. Apparently, this either involves a spirit of resignation, pure and simple, under the assumption that others will act on their behalf, or it demonstrates their inability to discern their true interests. All of these apolitical festivities would not lead to anything if they were not accompanied by important political decisions aimed at helping to chase the Vietnamese Communists and the Khmers Rouges out of the country. The error of this state of mind lies with the successive governments established in Cambodia which have prevented the conduct of a learning process and living a political life. Is this the fault of French colonialism, which was different from the British variety, which knew how to prepare their colonies for the operation of democratic institutions before granting them independence? This kind of submission had levels and levels. Sihanouk and Son Sann submitted themselves to the Chinese, without daring to condemn the torturers of the Cambodian people. And their supporters obey these two leaders zealously. This is the way the history of Cambodian submission to various foreign powers and their lackeys is written. The present level of Khmer political awareness has stabilized at a medieval level, compared to the political awareness of the western world. It lacks maturity and a will to emancipate itself. Fatalistic submission flows from the infantile character of our politicians.

A Limited View of the World

The successive leaders of Cambodia have had a limited view of the political, economic, and cultural world and especially of democracy. The sinister proof of this is that the Khmers Rouges closed the borders in an effort to establish, at the end of the 20th century, an autarchic economy, with their concept of the freedom of the caves and the way of life of primitive peoples. First of all, these leaders never thought about the situation at all, when it was a matter of fundamental questions, such as the life or death of their country. They were a bunch of neurotics. They let themselves be led by the evil side of their natures or by fatalism, like Sihanouk and Son Sann, although they showed a sense of humor from time to time, as a sign of conscience. Thus we were once able to observe the coalition between the North Vietnamese, the Khmers Rouges, and Sihanouk. At the present time, there is an association between Sihanouk, Son Sann, and Pol Pot, but the Vietnamese thieves are absent. As far as Son Sann is concerned, either he is politically limited in intelligence, is abdicating before this high responsibility which constitutes a healthy form of liberation, or is engaged in calculating profit and loss like a businessmen. Since he was a cabinet minister for 17 times in various Cambodian Governments, for him personal affairs, like money, does not smell.

Unscientific Attention

In a dialectical sense, these are the men who made history. In simple terms, concerning Cambodia, it is the Cambodians who are the primary artisans of their future. This future depends on investments made in the past and actions undertaken in the present. Given the present state of things and in view of the present political balance, the end of the Khmer tunnel remains blocked up. The unlikely departure of the North Vietnamese would leave the Khmers Rouges, the principal allies of the Chinese, with a free hand. Then the Cambodian people would be left to face other forms of torture and suffering. It would be another form of genocide. What should we do? Can we count on Sihanouk or Son Sann, those fugitive will-of-the-wisps? The Cambodian people have gone through tragic experiences with them. Only a nationalist political force and army, not committed to either the Khmers Rouges or the North Vietnamese, an independent force not committed to anyone at all, could deliver this country from the present impasse and lead Cambodia to complete and real independence. Until now, all of the political and military activity has only been romantic literature, against the macabre backdrop of genocide.

True Fighters for Freedom

It is not the Khmers Rouges who are responsible for nearly 2 million dead, nor the Heng Samrin's, former Khmers Rouges, thanks to whom the North Vietnamese were able to colonize Cambodia. It was not the supporters of Sihanouk and Son Sann, who are only semi-finished products of the strategy of the Chinese, who are responsible for the geographic division of zones of influence with the Russians. The true fighters for freedom, here and there, are pawing the ground with impatience. This is because, in this world, where everything is a game of arithmetic between governments, no country dares openly to support liberation against the official will of these states. This entirely official will is covered by the machinery of the United Nations, which acts as a referee in conflicts without being concerned about the real wishes of the people concerned. Why is the United Nations imposing a criminal coalition on the Cambodian people? Paradoxically, only the non-governmental religious, juridical, and humanitarian organizations can apply the moral values of man, across the world. The official organizations follow the paths of the status quo, with pretended and anachronistic compromises. Was it necessary for the "National Council for the Liberation of Cambodia," established last year by Cambodian nationalists, to turn toward these non-governmental institutions to reject the interests of the governments established in this country? For only these associations dare to criticize their respective leaders and constitute a real pressure group against the criminal actions of these states which are responsible for the present Cambodian situation. There are the reasons for the existence of the "Conseil National de Liberation du Cambodge" [National Council for the Liberation of Cambodia]. It is a front which rejects the present impasse, because the true, major stakes in Cambodia, for these foreign powers, is the installation of a regime which will be part of their global strategy, without concerning themselves with the interests of the Cambodian people. Under these conditions, we ask all international organizations, even the non-governmental groups, to assist the "National Council for the Liberation of Cambodia" to drive the North Vietnamese and the Khmers Rouges from this country, so that its people may enjoy independence and liberty. However, unfortunately, this new path has not yet been adequately explored up to the present.

5170
CSO: 4219/7

EMIGRE ASSAILS SIHANOUK, SON SANN, CGDK

Paris MOUL KHMER in French Sep 86 pp 6-8

[Article by Sim Var]

[Text] Will It Soon Be the End of Cambodia?

Will our country die a natural death sooner than expected, due to the fault of the Cambodians themselves, since North Vietnam promised quite recently to withdraw in 1990 its troops which have been occupying the country since 1979? It will die, if certain incorrigibly credulous people continue to allow themselves to be abused by the North Vietnamese, despite the numerous lessons of the past. It will die, if they still naively believe in the implementation of this promise on the scheduled date. On the other hand, the pseudo Khmer Government, pompously called an anti-Hanoi coalition, seems to find this delay in the North Vietnamese evacuation of Cambodia too long, no doubt believing that Cambodia should disappear as soon as possible from the map of the world, without waiting for the date determined by the enemy.

In effect, according to documents in our possession, signed by our dear Prince Norodom Sihanouk, president of the CGDK, and by Prince Mohasambath Son Sann, documents which we publish elsewhere, the pseudo-government is reportedly engaged in negotiating the sale of the land on which the Khmer Embassy in Tokyo stands for more than $10 million to a Japanese mafia gang, under the false pretext of obtaining money to sustain the Khmer resistance against the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia.

Now the land on which the Khmer Embassy in Japan stands, like that of other Khmer embassies abroad, belongs to the Khmer state but in no case is it the private property either of our dear Prince Skihanouk or of our dear Prince Son Sann. These latter figures, despite the titles they have, do not possess either the right or the powers to turn over the smallest part of our national patrimony. This is because their government was only set up by foreigners and is in exile. Moreover, these persons, although they are president and prime minister of the government, have no more rights than we other political refugees have. Should their negotiations be concluded as they now hope, this would be a mortal blow for our country, because no one could then prevent them from selling all of our other embassies abroad.

Certainly, money is the central nervous system of the war and therefore indispensable in the struggle against the enemy. However, these personalities should provide it themselves, since they are principally responsible for the war which has been going on among us since 1970, a war provoked by themselves with the help of our North Vietnamese enemies in order to carry out an act of aggression against their own country, quite simply to gain or to regain power. It is of little importance to them that Cambodia and its people are dying, provided they obtain power. This unprecedented scandal fills our compatriots with great emotion, wherever they are: in Japan, in the United States, and in France. When they heard the news, these compatriots reportedly organized large demonstrations, soon to be held, in Tokyo and in Paris to protest against turning over this part of our national patrimony.

Furthermore, a former Cambodian minister of justice, who is now a refugee in France, considers that the situation in which the CGDK finds itself is comparable to that of General de Gaulle, who had to achieve French national unity in order to fight against Nazi Germany, which occupied France during World War II, 40 years ago. In effect, General de Gaulle, whose burning patriotism was known to all of the French people, succeeded in achieving the national unity of all French patriots. However, he never admitted traitors and "collaborators" into his camp. This is the reason why the French people, after the war, were able to bring such people before the courts.

Now, the case of Cambodia is quite different. In effect, those who pretend to be carrying on a resistance struggle against the North Vietnamese occupiers are the same ones who, in the recent past, were helped by North Vietnamese troops to carry out an act of aggression against Cambodia, which is their own country. Therefore, they are simply guilty of crimes of high treason. Consequently, it is totally incorrect to compare them with General de Gaulle. Even at the present time, 40 years after World War II, the French Government continues to search for those who collaborated with Nazi Germany in order to punish them and to ensure that examples of treason of this kind will not be repeated in the future.

In Cambodia the contrary is taking place. In effect, the prime minister of the pseudo-coalition government has agreed on his own, and without consulting with anyone, to join with the traitors to their country in a coalition government. These are the traitors who, when they had power, thanks to the help of the enemy, had several million of their compatriots massacred for no reason at all. By acting in this way this prime minister considers these traitors national heroes, joining hands with them to clear their names and to restore their fortunes, thanks to his label as a nationalist.

Regarding the former minister of justice previously mentioned, he thinks that it is necessary to achieve national unity at all costs, even with the traitors, leaving it until later to have them tried, when Cambodia is liberated from North Vietnamese occupation. We think that this former minister of justice does not see beyond the end of his nose, because if General de Gaulle succeeded in achieving French national unity, it was because he was an ardent patriot and because, moreover, his political party was the strongest, whereas in our country the nationalist party represented by the prime minister is the weakest party. If, by a miracle, Cambodia could be liberated from the yoke of the enemy, it is certain that the party of the traitors, which is the strongest of all, would again assume power. It would then no longer be possible to bring the Khmers Rouges, who were responsible for genocide against our people, to trial.

However, we are in agreement on achieving Khmer national unity in order to free our country of foreign occupation. Nevertheless, the Khmer national unity which we want necessarily excludes the participation of traitors.

Therefore, it is high time that these leaders of the three factions of the resistance should withdraw from the political scene, instead of hanging on to their present positions, no matter what the price, under the pretext that after them would come a disaster or the end of the world. Let them give way to the young people who represent the future of our country!

Poor Cambodia. Why do you always let yourselves be abused by these false supporters ("Achar Bang Chheu," thieves), who teach renunciation of the goods of this world? Why don't you understand that they are leading you toward your disappearance from the map of the world?

5170
CSO: 4219/7

BRIEFS

LABOR DAY OBSERVANCE--Some 35,000 Vietnamese workers and cadres Soviet experts last Sunday [2 November] took part in a communist labor day at the Hoa Binh hydroelectric power project, northwest of Hanoi. [sentence as received] The labor day was held as greeting to the 69th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution. [Text] [Hanoi International Service in English 1000 GMT 4 Nov 86 BK] /12232

HUNGARIAN JUDICIAL DELEGATION ARRIVES--Hanoi, VNA 5 November--A delegation of the Supreme Court of Hungary led by Dr Zoltan Nagy, vice president of the Supreme Court and president of the State Economic Arbitration Committee, arrived here yesterday on a visit to Vietnam at the invitation of the Vietnam Supreme People's Court. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1505 GMT 5 Nov 86 OW] /12232

GDR ENVOY LEAVES--Hanoi VNA 5 November--Ambassador of the German Democratic Republic to Vietnam Hermann Schwiesau left here today concluding his term of office in Vietnam. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1506 GMT 5 Nov 86 OW] /12232

U.S. NICARAGUAN ACTS SCORED--Hanoi VNA 6 November--The army paper QUAN DOI NHAN DAN today flays the U.S. imperialists for their serious moves in preparation for a war of aggression against Nicaragua. The paper, in a commentary, recalls that following its secret deliveries of weapons to mercenaries in Honduras, the U.S. has decided to give 100 million dollars as aid to the Contras. Faced with the U.S. threat of aggression, the paper notes, the Nicaraguan people have always heightened their vigilance and determination to defend their homeland. The paper quotes President Daniel Ortega as affirming that though the United States has sent more millions of dollars, and mercenaries and even U.S. soldiers to participate in the war of aggression, it cannot defeat the Nicaraguan revolution, because this revolution is of the people. After highlighting the Sandinista forces' victories in breaking the Contras' cross-border attacks, QUAN DOI NHAN DAN notes that the Nicaraguan people's just struggle has won great support for the progressive people throughout the world. If the Reagan authorities blindly invade Nicaragua, they will meet with a "second Vietnam" right at the place which used to be the U.S. back-yard. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 0715 GMT 6 Nov 86 OW] /12232

VIETNAM, GDR TRADE AGREEMENT--Hanoi VNA 6 November--A protocol on goods exchange and payment for 1987 between Vietnam and the German Democratic Republic was signed here yesterday. Signatories were Nguyen Tu, vice-minister of foreign trade, and his GDR counterpart, Jochen Steier, who is leading a GDR delegation on a visit to Vietnam. The same day, the GDR guests were received by Doan Duy Thanh, member of the party Central Committee and minister of foreign trade. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1510 GMT 6 Nov 86 OW] /12232

USSR AGRICULTURAL MECHANIZATION AID--Hanoi VNA 5 November--The Soviet Union has over the past 30 years granted all-round assistance to develop agricultural mechanization in Vietnam. Among the total 16,000 tractors available in the country, 11,000 were provided by the Soviet Union. It helped Vietnam with six tractor repair factories and 148 small service stations. Every year it supplied hundreds of tons of tractor parts. The Soviet Union also helped train workers and engineers and build a number of research centres and vocational schools specializing in farm machines. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 0742 GMT 6 Nov 86] /12232

SOVIET EXPERTS AWARDED--Hanoi VNA 6 November--The State Council has decided to confer Vietnam's Labour Orders on 20 Soviet experts working on the construction site of the Hoa Binh hydro-electric power plant on the Da River. At a ceremony held at the site yesterday, Phan Ngoc Tuong, alternate member of the CPV Central Committee and minister of construction, handed the Orders including 3 of the Second Class and 17 of the Third Class over the Soviet recipients. The presentation was made in honour of the 69th Russian October Socialist Revolution (7 November) to recognize the outstanding contributions of Soviet specialists to the recent second phase of damming the Da River. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1521 GMT 6 Nov 86 OW] /12232

NEW MOZAMBICAN PRESIDENT GREETED--Hanoi VNA 5 November--Truong Chinh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam and president of the State Council, today sent warmest congratualtions to Joaquim Alberto Chissano on his election as president of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party and of the People's Republic of Mozambique. His congratulatory message says: "We firmly believe that, in position as the head of the Mozambican Party and state and together with the Central Committee of the Frelimo Party, you will lead the Mozambican people and armed forces to overcome present difficulties and trials to defeat all schemes of sabotage and aggression by imperialism, the South African apartheid regime and other reactionary forces, and win many new successes in consolidating national independence, making Mozambique a prosperous country, and firmly defending your people's revolutionary gains. "We would like to reaffirm our militant solidarity with and strong support for the Mozambican people's glorious revoltuionary cause." It wishes the new Mozambican president the best of health and brilliant success in his noble mission. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 0759 GMT 6 Nov 86 OW] /12232

HUNGARIAN DELEGATION GREETED--Hanoi VNA 7 November--Nguyen Huu Tho, vice president of the State Council and chairman of the National Assembly, received at the presidential palace here today a visiting delegation of the Supreme Court of Hungary led by Dr Zoltan Nagy, first vice president of the court and president of the State Economic Arbitration Committee. Also at the reception were president of the Vietnam Supreme People's Court Pham Hung and Hungarian Ambassador Bela Benyei. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1609 GMT 7 Nov 86 OW] /12232

SUPPORT FOR PLO REITERATED--Hanoi VNA 7 November--The Vietnamese people continue their support for the Palestinian and other Arab peoples' just struggle against imperialism and Zionism, and for their basic national rights. This was reiterated by Cabinet Minister Vo Dong Giang in his recent recpetion here of Said Khalil al-Masri, representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Vo Dong Giang strongly criticized the imperialist and other reactionary forces for intensifying tension in the Middle-East and imposing their will upon the Arab nations. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1454 GMT 7 Nov 86 OW] /12232

ETHIOPIAN MINISTER CONGRATULATED--Hanoi VNA 7 November--Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach yesterday sent congratulations to Bernanu Bayih [name as received] on his appointment as foreign minister of Ethiopia. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1608 GMT 7 Nov 86 OW] /12232

USSR'S OCTOBER REVOLUTION MARKED--Hanoi VNA 8 November--Various functions have been held by the chapters of the Vietnam-USSR Friendship Association in provinces in honour of the 69th Russian October Revolution (7 November). Vietnamese workers and Soviet experts at the Lao Cai apatite mine in Hoang Lien Son and the Na Duong coal mine in Lang Son have signed labour emulation contracts to boost production. Meetings, photo and book exhibitions and film shows were arranged in the provinces of Ha Tuyen, Bac Thai, Nghe Tinh and Guang Nam-da Nana, highlighting great achievements recorded by the Soviet people, and development projects built with Soviet assistance in Vietnam. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1457 GMT 8 Nov 86 OW] /12232

ALBANIAN PARTY ANNIVERSARY HAILED--Hanoi VNA 8 November--The coming into being 45 years ago of the Albanian Communist Party (now the Albanian Workers Party) [AWP] is an important event in Albania's history, says NHAN DAN in an article today. The paper notes: "The Albanian communists and people are celebrating the 45th anniversary of their party at a time when the 9th Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour has just ended with success. The documents adopted at the congress clearly point out the (?need) of development in the new stage of revolution encouraging the working people to go forward and record still greater achievements." The paper wishes the "fraternal Albanian communists and people under the leadership of the AWP success in implementing the resolution of the 9th AWP Congress, and the friendship and cooperation between Vietnam and Albania further consolidation and development in the interests of the two peoples and of peace and socialism. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 0701 GMT 8 Nov 86 OW] /12232

SOVIET BALLET PERFORMS--Hanoi VNA 9 November--A ballet troupe of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic is making a performance tour of Vietnam in honour of the 69th Russian October Socialist Revolution. "Useless Care" is the name of a ballet being performed on the Vietnamese stage by Muldavian dancers. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 0232 GMT 9 Nov 86 OW] /12232

CSO: 4200/115

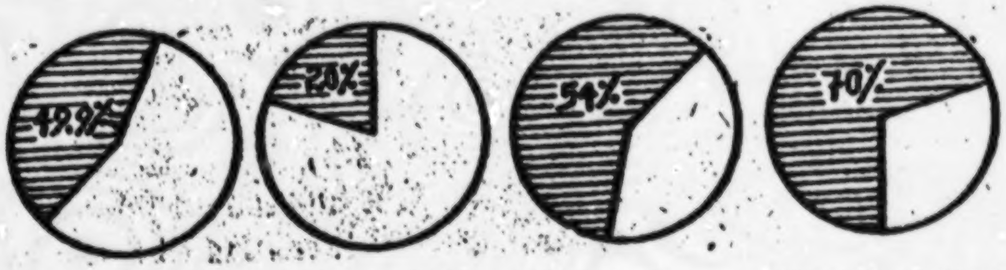
LIGHT INDUSTRY VIETNAM

GRAPHICS PROVIDED ON SMALL INDUSTRIES, HANDICRAFTS

Hanoi TIEU CONG NGHIEP in Vietnamese, Sep 86 pp 4-6, 10-11

[Text] Small Industries, Handicrafts in Relation to the Public Economy and Social Life

Total Output Value of Small Industries, Handicrafts



Compared to entire industry sector (including small industry, handicrafts)

Group A only (producing production

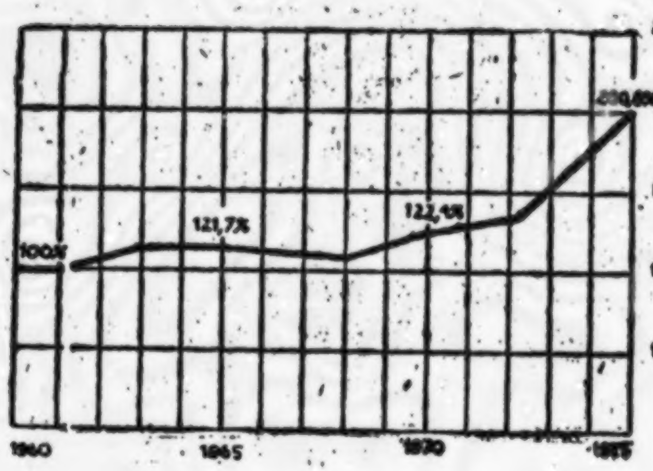
Group B only (producing consumer goods)

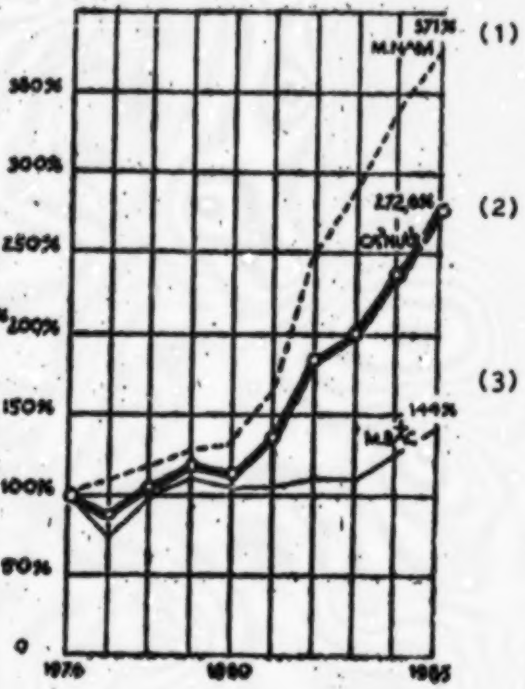
Compared to local industry (including small industry, handicrafts)

Developmental Pace of Small Industry, Handicrafts Production

NATIONWIDE, 1976-1985

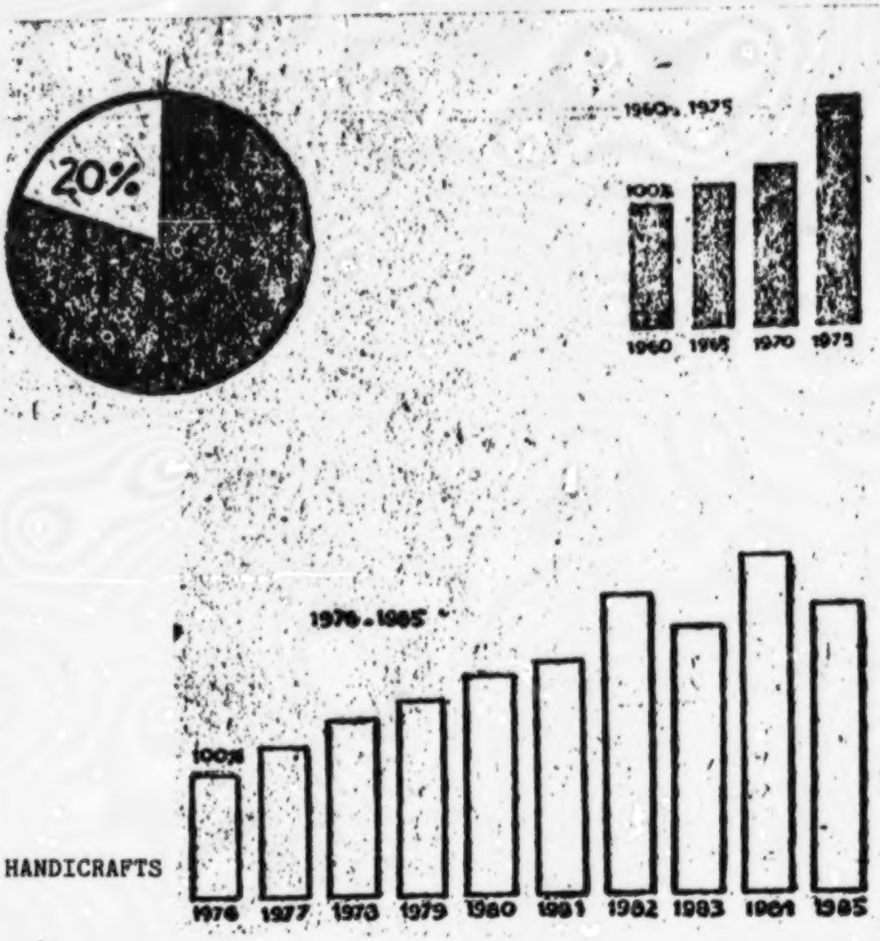
IN THE NORTH, 1960-1975





Key:

1. the south
2. nationwide
3. the north



EXPORT VALUE
OF SMALL INDUSTRY, HANDICRAFTS
PRODUCTS

Did You Know?

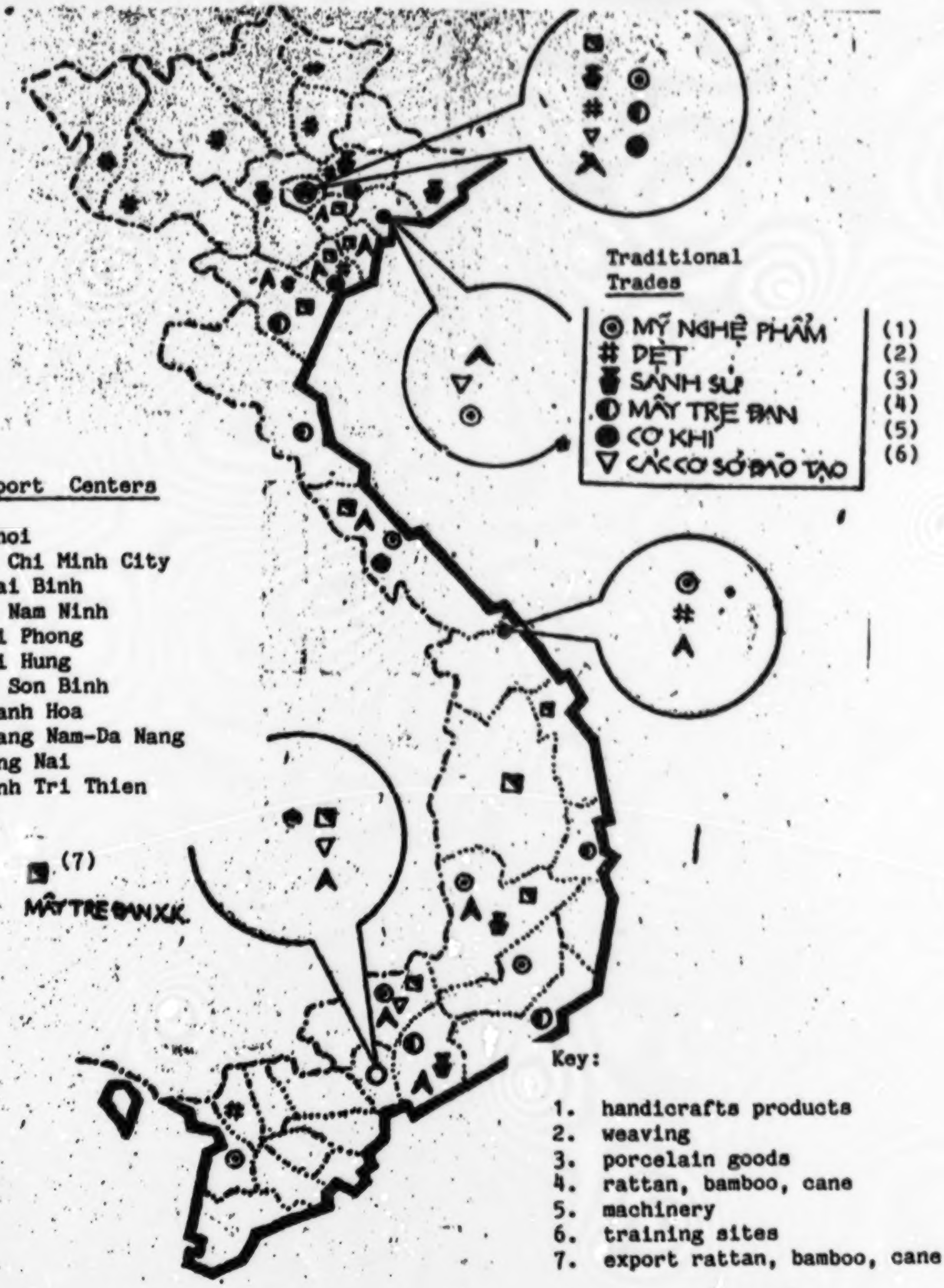
Presently, the total labor of the entire small industry and handicrafts sector in our country is over 1.6 million persons. Total labor in unskilled handicrafts (in agriculture): 374,747 persons. Localities with the largest labor forces are Ha Nam Ninh, with 48,924 persons; Hanoi, with 44,784 persons; and Thai Binh, with 35,421 persons.

Of the total 3,950 cooperatives, 48 percent participate in social security; of the 5,895 cooperation teams, 16 percent participate. Provinces and municipalities that have done well in the social security drive are Hanoi, Hai Hung, Thai Binh, and Has Nam Ninh.

To train and develop cadres and workers, the proviinces and municipalities of Hai Phong, Ha Son Binh, Thanh Hooa, Hanoi, Ha Nam Ninh, and Quiang Ninh have trade schools. Ha Son Binh has two schools: an art and handicrafts school and a trade school.

In social welfare, Hai Phong, Thanh Hoa, Ha Nam Ninh, and Hue have separate rest homes and clinics for small industry and handicrafts workers. The Do Son rest home of the Central Federation of Small Industries and Handicrafts issued 1,447 leaves and 1,134 non-scheduled leaves from 1983 to 1985.

NATIONWIDE DISTRIBUTION OF SMALL INDUSTRY AND HANDICRAFTS


Traditional Trades
◎ MỸ NGHỆ PHẨM (1)
# DỆT (2)
SÀNH SỨ (3)
◐ MÂY TRE ĐAN (4)
● CƠ KHÍ (5)
▽ CÁC CƠ SỞ ĐÀO TẠO (6)
(7)
MÂY TRE ĐAN X.K.

Export Centers

Hanoi
Ho Chi Minh City
Thai Binh
Ha Nam Ninh
Hai Phong
Hai Hung
Ha Son Binh
Thanh Hoa
Quang Nam-Da Nang
Dong Nai
Binh Tri Thien

Key:

1. handicrafts products
2. weaving
3. porcelain goods
4. rattan, bamboo, cane
5. machinery
6. training sites
7. export rattan, bamboo, cane

1981-1985 5-year Plan Concluded in 1985; Preparations Made for Implementation of the 1986-1990 Plan

Total Output Value in Small Industry and Handicrafts Nationwide, 1985: 44.959 Billion Dong (old currency)

p2 billion dong and more:

	(million dong)
--Ho Chi Minh City	14.122
--Quang Nam-Da Nang	2,935
--Hau Giang	2,650
--Hanoi	2,215

From 1 to under 2 billion dong

--Cuu Long	1.680
--Ben Tre	1.600
--Nghia Binh	1.420
--Phu Khanh	1.384
--Tien Giang	1.300
--Ha Nam Ninh	1.235
--Binh Tri Thien	1.220

From 500 million to under 1 billion dong

--Nghe Tinh	980
--Minh Hai	970
--Dong Nai	950
--An Giang	820
--Thanh Hoa	800
--Ha Son Binh	761
--Hai Phong	750
--Hai Hung	745
--Dong Thap	705
--Long An	700
--Thai Binh	685
--Ha Bac	523

Under 500 million dong

--Song Be	485
--Vinh Phu	481
--Kien Giang	450
--Thuan Hai	400
--Lam Dong	454
--Quang Ninh	250
--Hoang Lien Son	200
--Bac Thai	180
--Dac Lac	173
--Tay Ninh	172
--Gia Lai-Kon Tum	170
--Vung Tau-Con Dao	170
--Cao Bang	103
--Lang Son	100

--Son La	98
--Ha Tuyen	85
--Lai Chau	39

Exports for 1985 Nationwide: 4.537 Billion Dong

From 100 to 1.88 billion dong

--Ho Chi Minh City	1,880
--Hanoi	373
--Ha Nam Ninh	240
--Ha Son Binh	227
--Quang Nam-Da Nang	185
--Dong Nai	180
--Thai Binh	168
--Hai Phong	154
--Thanh Hoa	140
--Nghia Binh	100

From 50 to under 100 million dong

--Song Be	88
--Binh Tri Thien	85
--Long An	80
--Hai Hung	78
--Phu Khanh	63
--Tien Giang	57

Under 50 million dong

--Nghe Tinh	38
--Vung Tao-Con Dao	36
--Minh Hai	35
--Ha Bac	35
--Quang Ninh	30
--Cuu Long	35
--Tien Giang	30
--Lam Dong	28
--Thuan Hai	26
--Kien Giang	23
--Dong Thap	20
--Vinh Phu	18
--Bac Thai	12
--Son La	12
--Ha Thuyen	12
--Tay Ninh	10
--Dac Lac	7
--Cao Bang	6
--Ben Tre	6
--An Giang	5
--Gia Lai-Kon Tum	3
--Hoang Lien Don	1.5
--Lai Chau	1.5

Output Value of the Small Industry, Handicrafts Sector in 1985 (in millions of dong):

--Chemicals, rubber, plastics	3,250	=	72 percent
--Machinery, metals	7,654	=	17 percent
--Construction materials	2,950	=	6.55 percent
--Porcelain, crystal	1,020	=	2.25 percent
--Processed forestry products	6,500	=	14.45 percent
--Processed foods	14,779	=	32.8 percent
--Weaving, leather, garments	6,700	=	14.88 percent
--Other industries	2,106	=	4.68 percent

Output Value by Forms of Small Industry, Handicrafts Organizations 1985 (in millions of dong):

A. Trades:	39,639	=	100 percent
--cooperatives	9,230	=	23.3 percent
--production teams	9,276	=	23.4 percent
--individual	21,133	=	53.3 percent
B. Businesses	5,320	=	100 percent
--in agriculture	4,900	=	92.1 percent
--in sectors	420	=	7.9 percent

Main Products, 1985

Improved carts	37,500 items
Various ploughs	263,000 items
Farm hand implements	10,696,000 items
Sheet iron goods	4,200 tons
Aluminum goods	4,925 tons
Bicycle frames	215,000 items
Bicycle accessories	3,335 tons
Soap	10,197 tons
Alum	7,000 tons
Lime	674,600 tons
Refined bricks	1,930,000 items
Refined tiles	373,800,000 items
Crystal	18,386 tons
Common use pottery	111,456,000 items
Colored fabrics	58,060,000 meters
Miscellaneous fabrics	119,792,000 meters
Face towels	64,000,000 ch (sic)
Domestic mats	13,023,000 c (sic)
Export mats	12,467,000 square meters
Dyed bamboo blinds	1,500,000 square meters
Painted bamboo blinds	600,000 square meters
Palm blinds	356,000 square meters
Garments	743,400 square meters
Brooms	6,582,000 items
Lace	15,900 square meters
Colored embroidery	203,000 square meters

Jute mats of all types	1,988,000 square meters
Wool carpets of all types	237,000 square meters
Corn plant fiber mats	591,000 square meters
Fish sauce	66,781,000 liters
Fish paste	14,326,000 liters
Syrup	310,000 tons

Export Products, 1985

Value of Export Goods (in millions of dong)	4,537

Main Export Goods:

Embroidery (1,000 sets)	203
Rush mats (1,000 square meters)	12,467
Jute mats (1,000 sqyare meters)	1,988
Wool rugs (1,000 square meters)	287.2
Corn plant mats (1,000 square meters)	591.2
Painted bamboo shades	601
Dyed bamboo shades	1,501
Palm shades	353
Taylored shades	743,400
Brooms (1,000 items)	6,582
Lace (1,000 square meters)	15,100

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CSO: 4209/101

- END -

JPRS-SEA-86-211

4 DECEMBER 1986

Southeast Asia Report

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INDONESIA

SUHARTO CLARIFIES PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION SYSTEM

Jakarta TEMPO in Indonesian 4 Oct 86 p 25

[Article: "There Is No President for Life; Question of the Presidency As an Institution Comes Up Again; This Time President Suharto Discusses It"]

[Text] President Suharto has spoken about the presidency as an institution. He was speaking in Tapos, before members of the 19th class of the National Defense Institute, who were visiting the Tri S cattle farm. Among other things, the president guaranteed that there will be no president for life. He said on 28 September: "According to our constitution, the president is elected to carry out the GBHN [Broad Outlines of State Policy], and the GBHN is a document valid for 5 years."

The statement by the president, which was contained in a 2-hour speech delivered without a printed text, seemed to be intended to clarify the issue of the presidency as an institution which widely discussed public 4 months ago. At the time, among other things, it was proposed that the system for a change in national leadership be discussed at the next public session of the MPR [People's Consultative Assembly] in 1988. Suhardiman, chairman of the Political Section of the Golkar Faction in Parliament, said: "In fact, we do not yet have a fully developed concept for the replacement of our national leadership."

According to Suhardiman, the years from 1988 to 1993 will be the final period of service of the generation which achieved the country's freedom. By 1993 in particular the baton of national leadership will have been completely turned over to the next generation. Suhardiman said: "So that this process of replacement is completed smoothly, a mechanism needs to be prepared which has a strong, juridical foundation, that is, a decision by the MPR." Asked why, he answered that historical experience showed that the process of replacing the president in the past did not go smoothly.

Beside the replacement of the president, the length of the presidential term was also discussed at that time. Prof Dr Sri Soemantri, dean of the Faculty of Law of Pajajaran University, thinks that we really "need to have a limit on the term of service of the chief of state." He said that Article 7 of the Constitution of 1945 in effect mentions a limit on the presidential term, but it does not state how many times a president can be reelected.

In Sri Soemantri's view, if it is found necessary to set a limit to the length of time a president may serve, the objective should be the long term national interest. He said: "We have our 5-year plans. On that basis we can determine how many terms a national leader needs to serve before his period in office can be considered to have been completed."

the question of the length of a presidential term is indeed interesting because of the prospect of general elections next year. Moreover, the question has become clear after President Suharto himself gave his speech last week.

The president said that the mechanism for ensuring national leadership based on the constitution needs to be preserved continuously. The people must be given an opportunity to choose their representatives. The people, who have decided on what they want over a period of 5 years, then should choose one among them to implement the GBHN, whose actions may be reviewed by Parliament but who is only responsible to the MPR. The president cannot be held accountable by Parliament, and vice versa. If there is a conflict between president and Parliament, the MPR will resolve it.

According to the president, such a case of conflict occurred in 1967, when there was a difference of view between the representatives of the people and President Sukarno. At the time it was very clear that there were political parties which wanted the Indonesian Armed Forces to take over the government at once or, to put it more crudely, by seizing control of the government. President Suharto said: "However, thanks be to God, I continued to hold firmly to the view that I must not leave a black record behind me by seizing control of the government." As a result, we can show the people that at a time of change in the government, there was no seizure of authority but rather, the change took place because the the president's authority as the mandate holder of the MPR was withdrawn and the MPR took additional action. The president said: "It is this mechanism which must be preserved, so that indeed there will be no need for any fear that there will be a president for life."

5170
CSO: 4213/12

MINISTER CONFIRMS DECLINE IN RICE FIELD ACREAGE

Jakarta MERDEKA in Indonesian 1 Oct 86 pp 1, 11

[Text] Jakarta, 30 September, MERDEKA--Engr Achmad Affandi, minister of agriculture, has admitted that that the area presently planted to rice is declining, compared to the situation a few years ago. This is due to changes in land use and is also the result of delays in developing new rice fields new rice fields in the areas outside of Java.

He made this statement in testimony before Committee IV of Parliament at the Parliament Building in the Senayan area of Jakarta on 30 September.

However, according to Affandi, although the area planted to rice has been declining, the total production of rice has ultimately increased, due to higher rates of return per hectare. As a result, it has been possible to meet the needs of the population, which has been increasing annually.

Data from Forecast I by the BPS [Central Statistical Office] indicate that rice production this year will only amount to 26,585,303 tons, or an increase of about 0.18 percent, compared with the provisional figure on rice production for 1985, which amounted to 26,537,535 tons. According to the minister of agriculture, the BPS forecast in fact is only a "warning" to ensure that officials of the Food Agricultural Service in the provinces will be more active in their jobs. Therefore, the forecast should not automatically be relied on.

According to data obtained by MERDEKA, the projected level of rice production in Forecast II of the BPS is lower than in Forecast I. According to data in Forecast II, the production of rice in 1986 will only amount to 26,129,286 tons, reflecting a decline of about 400,000 tons by comparison with the provisional figure on rice production in 1985.

Meanwhile, in terms of the area planted to rice, data from Forecast II of the BPS shows a total of 9,598,382 hectares producing, while Forecast I states that the area planted to rice in 1986 will amount to 9,781,388 hectares and provisional data on rice planting in 1985 totaled about 9,831,000 hectares. Thus, based on data from BPS forecasts, the area planted to rice is tending to decline, although not drastically.

However, according to Affandi, fortunately and as a result of hard work over the past few months, the area planted to rice has finally been increased, with the result that as of the end of August 1986 the area planted to rice has been increased by about 140,000 hectares, compared with the area planted during the 1985 rainy and dry seasons.

Speaking of the decline in the area planted to rice in irrigated fields, the minister of agriculture said that at present there is a continuing process of converting irrigated fields to non-agricultural uses. According to existing data, every year no less than 20,000 hectares of additional agricultural land are devoted to non-agricultural purposes.

This change in function of agricultural land, including irrigated fields in this connection, is a matter of some concern, because the effort to resolve the problem, most of which is being undertaken outside of Java, through the development of new, irrigated fields, is not going well.

The principal obstacle in the process of development of new, irrigated fields is the problem of the construction of tertiary irrigation ditches, which at present has been turned over to individual farmers. The minister of agriculture said: "Although secondary ditches have been completed, if there are no tertiary ditches, the water clearly cannot flow to the fields. This is the problem which has always been a disappointment to the farmers."

To resolve the problem of delays in the construction of tertiary irrigation ditches, the Directorate General of Food Agriculture will try to deal with it by guaranteeing loans from the banks (prefinancing). Immediately after the newly developed, irrigated fields are converted to the use of water, the farmer will assume the debt from the bank which provides the credit.

Meanwhile, according to Engineer Suhaedi, the director general of food agriculture, the effort to develop new, irrigated rice fields must be accelerated. Because of the declining area of irrigated fields in Java, resolution of this problem must be undertaken through the development of new, irrigated rice fields outside of Java, using twice as much land, bearing in mind low rice productivity outside of Java.

Suhaedi said: "If the area of irrigated rice fields in Java declines by about 20,000 hectares per year, then the effort to balance this, whether we like it or not, must involve developing 40,000 hectares of new, irrigated rice fields outside of Java."

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CSO: 4213/12

INDONESIA

COAL EXPLORATION AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH JAPAN

Jakarta SUARA KARYA in Indonesian 10 Oct 86 p 1

[Text] Jakarta, SUARA KARYA--On 9 October Indonesia and Japan signed a draft cooperation agreement for the implementation of the Coal Exploration Project in Central Sumatra. At the ceremony Indonesia was represented by Dr Soetaryo Sigit, director general of general mining, while Japan was represented by Toshohiko Sueyoshi, the executive director of NEDO (New Energy Development Organization).

It is estimated that the project will cost $7.5 million. According to Johannas, the director of the Directorate of Coal, implementation of the project will take 4 1/2 years and will be completed by 31 March 1991. Implementation of the project will be in four phases: the preliminary phase, the semi-detailed exploration phase, the detailed exploration phase, and the phase of preparing a general mining plan.

In the implementation of the project the Indonesian side will include the Directorate General of General Mining, the Directorate General of Geology and Natural Mineral Resources, and the Coal Mining Corporation, a public corporation. Meanwhile, the Japanese side will include NEDO, an executive institute of the Japanese Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI).

The project will be undertaken in the Rokan and Cerenti areas (including the Logas region) in Riau Province and in the Sinapar area of West Sumatra Province. Johannas said that the project was the result of discussions between Professor Doctor Soebroto, Indonesian minister of mining and energy, and M. Watanabe, Japanese minister of international trade and industry, at a meeting they held on 10 January 1986.

Implementation of the project is in accordance with the energy policy of the Indonesian Government and particularly in the framework of diversification in the use of domestic energy. Coal is considered the most important, alternative form of energy in Indonesia. To develop prospective deposits in an economic way, it will be necessary to carry out research to determine the extent of the reserves and the quality of the deposits.

In his speech on the occasion the director general of general mining said that he appreciated the fact that during a period of only 9 months NEDO and MITI had agreed on a plan for the implementation of the project.

According to Soetaryo, the signature of a cooperation agreement like this provides a good opportunity for the development of energy in Indonesia in the future.

The director of the Directorate of Coal Mining was not able to state how large an amount of money would need to be provided by the respective sides to the agreement.

However, Johannas said that the Japanese side will earmark about $1.0 million per year.

5170
CSO: 4213/12

BRIEFS

'JAVANESE-PHOBIA,' TRANSMIGRATION--Karkono Kamajaya, a scholar of Javanese culture and literature, has stated that at present there are indications of "Javanese-Phobia," pointing to the views of Doctor Edi Swasono, who urged that the implementation of the transmigration program should not always be associated with the word "Java" and should not use too many Javanese-sounding names for villages, streets, and so forth in transmigration resettlement areas. The statement by Edi Swasono at a seminar sponsored by the University of Lampung was regarded by Karkono Kamajaya at too naive and artificial. Speaking to a SINAR HARAPAN representative on 23 September, Karkono, who is also a director of the Javanology Institute of the Yogyakarta Unification Foundation, added that Javanese in fact participate in the transmigration program with a heavy heart because they must leave areas which are very familiar to them. In addition, transmigration is a national program which must be successfully implemented so that Javanese will wish to be resettled in order to earn a more proper livelihood. According to Karkono, the village relocation effort is a kind of total transmigration which separates the people from the place of their birth in the service of broader national interests. For that reason, he warned, we should not look for a few mistakes which may be made by the transmigrants, such as naming streets or villages after their former places of residence in Java. Karkono asked: "Isn't it their right to display a little nostalgia for their former homes? Why should they be blamed for this? If they are blamed for just minor mistakes, then what else can the transmigrants of Javanese origin do?" He declared that for the Javanese, have an important role to play from the time they are born until well into the future. Parents try hard to find the best name for their unborn children as a memorial which should be maintained. This is different from people who are not from the eastern world, the English, for example, who have the proverb, 'What's in a name?'" [Text] [Jakarta SINAR HARAPAN in Indonesian 26 Sep 86 pp 1, 12] 5170

NU LEADER ON ELECTIONS--H. Abdurrahman Wahid, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Nahdlatul Ulama [Muslim Scholars], declared that, as an organization which is not taking part in the general elections, the NU cannot and will not set target votes for the forthcoming elections in 1987. Members of the NU have been given full freedom to express their political aspirations by voting in a responsible way for the PPP, GOLKAR, or the PDI. He told a PELITA representative on 27 September: "A successful general election which functions smoothly and without conflicts--that, if you wish, may be called the objective of the NU." Last week, as reported by a number of newspapers in Jakarta and in the provinces, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the NU expressed the view that the PPP may lose about 50 percent of the votes of NU members if it does not immediately resolve splits within its organization. Abdurrahman's statement later brought reactions from PPP sources and members of the NU itself, as it appeared that the NU was setting a certain target in the general elections. He said that his statement was a warning to the PPP to resolve presently existing divisions within the party and adopting a sensible attitude toward NU members who are now in the PPP. He said: "It is a natural thing for us to recall this matter, so that NU members will not become involved in this dispute. Furthermore, an unwise attitude adopted within the PPP toward NU members will arouse antipathies on their part toward the PPP, and this is already evident." Therefore, according to Abdurrahman, if sufficient attention is not paid to this matter by the PPP leadership, they may lose half or even more of their NU supporters. He continued: "I have come back from visits to several provinces and have sensed the atmosphere which I have mentioned. This is a fact which may be observed in the field." In another portion of his interview the chairman of the Executive Committee of the NU warned that it is not appropriate to react angrily to comments made on a trip to the provinces made by a person outside the party. The views of such an outsider should be specifically used as a point of departure to improve the situation. Abdurrahman Wahid concluded: "Instead, people who have been reminded of their shortcomings react angrily." [Text] [Jakarta PELITA in Indonesian 29 Sep 86 p 1] 5170

DEVALUATION IMPROVES INVESTMENT SECTOR--The devaluation of the rupiah recently announced by the Indonesian Government has not harmed foreign capital investment (PMA) but, on the contrary, has improved the investment climate. Engr Ginandjar Kartasasmita, deputy minister for promotion of domestic production and chairman of the BKPM [Capital Investment Coordinating Board], stated in Osaka [Japan] on 7 October that capital investors have not suffered losses as a result of the devaluation, because the increase in the value of their assets as a result of the devaluation will not be treated as capital gains subject to tax. The devaluation has increased the competitiveness of industry and therefore has much improved the investment climate, he stated before a symposium on Financial and Economic Cooperation Between Asia and Japan, which was attended by senior Asian and Japanese government officials and private businessmen. Ginandjar said that the decision to devalue was a difficult one. It showed the determination of the Indonesian Government, which is always ready to take the necessary action to ensure conomic development. Although it is currently experiencing a number of difficulties, the Indonesian economy continues to be relatively healthy. The balance of payments continues to be stable, and this has made it possible to hold down the rate of inflation over the past several years. In 1985 it was only 4.3 percent. At present Indonesia is not faced with a foreign debt problem and is determined to continue to meet its international obligations. Therefore, Indonesia is among those countries which have the confidence of the business world and international financial organizations. Unlike other petroleum exporting countries, we were very carefully managing our expenditures at a time when the petroleum price was going up, he said. Ginandjar stated that with the money derived from the sale of its oil Indonesia has successfully developed the agricultural sector of the economy and the village economy.

Under economic conditions which are difficult in a number of areas, these sectors have proved that they support the Indonesian economy and ensure the continuation of its basic strength. [Text] [Jakarta HARIAN UMUM AB in Indonesian 8 Oct pp 1, 8] 5170

MUHAMMADIYAH NEUTRAL IN ELECTIONS--The Muhammadiyah will participate in making a success of the 1987 general elections and will continue to be neutral, not committed to any of the participants. All members of this religious organization are free to choose the best candidate who is most beneficial to their interests. This was stated by Dr H. Lukman Harun, deputy chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Muhammadiyah, in answer to questions from a SINAR HARAPAN representative in Jakarta on 3 October. In the name of the Central Executive Committee of the Muhammadiyah, Lukman urged all members of this organization, which is dedicated to the renewal of society, to use their right to vote in accordance with the political rights of all Indonesian citizens. This former secretary general of PARMUSI [Indonesian Muslim Party] from 1968 to 1970 stated that the Central Executive Committee of the Muhammadiyah is not permitted to participate in the elections campaign. If members of the organization are proposed as candidates by one of the parties contesting the election, the member involved must become non-active in the Muhammadiyah and automatically will be regarded as not speaking for or representing it. He also said that no organizational property used in the fields of religion, health services, and education may be employed in the elections campaign. Meanwhile, Lukman hoped that the holy verses of the Koran will not be used in the conduct of the future campaign. [Text] [Jakarta SINAR HARAPAN 4 Oct 86 p 1] 5170

CSO: 4213/12

COLUMNIST: VIENTIANE DEFENSE WEAK; THAIS, PRC, U.S. ENEMIES

Vientiane VIENTIANE MAI in Lao 6 Oct 86 p 2

["Talk" by S. Thipthiangchan: "The Revolutionary Spirit Must Be Promoted in Order To Focus on National Defense and Security Work"]

[Excerpts] Generally speaking we are very proud of the achievements and the fundamental victories for national defense and security work in Vientiane Capital that have ensured peace and happiness for the entire parties, armies and people, and that have become the foundation for production and for raising the standard of living and improving the quality of life of the people in Vientiane Capital.

Now more than ever, the people in Vientiane Capital must achieve more, and expound on our fine heritage in order to focus more on national defense and security so it will be strong and resolute, and this work must be carried out with the masses. An extensive national defense and security network must be built throughout the country.

In order to ensure that this takes place, first of all the work sections concerned must firmly grasp the resolution on national defense and security set by headquarters, and must also expand it to various work sections concerned in offices and organizations in wards and villages. Detailed policy and duty must be set for the work sections, individuals and the people so that they can also truly become driving forces.

In the past implementation of the plans and duties in offices and organizations in wards and villages was admirably effective. However, some offices and organizations are still careless in their duty and carry it out in a "just to save face" fashion like the old days, without responsibility, quality, and discipline. Some places worked only when they were first mobilized, and then the work became irregular and gradually dwindled. In order to solve this problem the administrative committees of different levels must diligently educate and give moral support, and must also become a driving force in getting out and inspecting over a period of time. Moreover, they must be attentive in guiding and staying close to reality in the localities on a normal basis, working in cooperation and having a close relationship, and also setting up a system of reporting on a normal basis. If anything wrong occurs they must resolve it. No problem should be left unsolved for a long time, as that will result in discouragement.

Everyone knows that the Thai ultrarightist reactionaries have been collaborating with the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and the U.S. imperialists as enemies against the three nations in Indochina, and especially against the LPDR. One serious action was the provocation of military force along the Lao-Thai border. They also allowed part of Thailand to become a sanctuary for the Lao reactionary exiles, along with assistance in military training, weapons and money. Then they sent them secretly into the LPDR to spy and conduct espionage, and to create confusion in order to dismantle the peace and happiness of the Lao people. However, because of the high sense and consciousness of our army and our people, the evil acts that they hoped to carry out were completely suppressed in a timely fashion. This shows our firm solidarity, and the high efficiency of the national defense and security network, and that the people of all ages, both men and women, havee awakened to become a driving force in the work of defense.

The plenum of the first party congress of Vientiane Capital said in part that "based on the special characteristics of Vientiane Capital, the general purpose is basically to ensure peace on a regular basis in all aspects, and particularly with respect to national defense and security, the standard of living, and the dictatorship of the proletariat in order continuously, firmly and gradually to advance Vientiane Capital toward socialism, to make it into a socialist capital, and to become a true political and socioeconomic center of the country. In order to make the general purpose a reality, we must understand and try to carry out the primary goal as follows. We should continue to raise our sense of revolutionary consciousness to become a driving force to dismantle all the destructive schemes of the enemies, to guarantee peace politically and socially in an orderly manner, and to determine to have effective internal protection, to continue to improve and to strengthen the national defense and public security forces in terms of quality and quantity, to organize training for the masses so that they will become the national and public security forces of the masses, and to train the military and paramilitary forces so that they will become strong in every way and will become the foundation for national defense and security force networks to protect the party and the government. As a result there will be peace and normalcy, and we will be able steadfastly to protect Vientiane Capital." (Excerpted from the document on the first congress of the Vientiane Capital party committee, pp 38-39).

Besides primarily promoting the revolutionary spirit which focuses on national defense and security work, the entire parties, armies and people throughout Vientiane Capital must strive to make those figures set forth in the plan become reality. We must be able to ensure peace and security 100 percent for the fourth congress of the LPRP organized and led by all-Lao revolutionary victories for the Lao people and the national heroes.

9884/12948
CSO: 4206/20

LAOS

'TALK' SLAMS PRC ON CAMBODIA ISSUE

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 23 Sep 86 p 3

['Talk' Column: "The Pol Pot Clique and Its Followers Must Be Wiped Out"]

[Excerpts] As everyone knows, the genocidal group that had committed uncounted crimes against the Cambodian people was pushed out of Cambodia by the Cambodian people. All along, however, some nations have been looking for every possible way to support the genocidal Pol Pot clique and other Cambodian reactionary groups. Recently, reactionary Beijing announced that it would continue to assist the criminal and genocidal Pol Pot clique and other Cambodian reactionary exiles who are now hiding in other countries, hoping to return and dismantle the building of the new life of the Cambodian people.

Each withdrawal of the Vietnamese Volunteer Force from Cambodia along with the announcement that all Vietnamese volunteers would be withdrawn in 1990 as stated in the circular of the past 11th, 12th and 13th conferences of the foreign ministers of the three Indochinese nations all goes to confirm the strength and growth of the PRK, such as in national defense.

There has been a great success and a miraculous victory of the Cambodian people. In addition, world opinion has condemned the terrifying and unforgiveable crimes committed openly and widely by the genocidal and criminal Pol Pot clique. Australia has recently proposed than an international tribunal be set up to judge the uncounted crimes of the genocidal Pol Pot clique. There was a movie in the United States called "The Killing Fields" in which the reporters and film makers revealed to the world the cruelty and savagery of the genocidal Pol Pot murderers and criminal vampires that sucked the blood and lives of over 3 million innocent Cambodian people. This has weakened the Pol Pot clique and the other Cambodian reactionaries, and has caused so much internal conflict among their interests that they are fighting among themselves. They are walking toward destruction, and they must ultimately be annihilated. On confronting this fact the international Beijing reactionaries have become angry and have carried out various schemes. For example, they invited the leaders of various Cambodian groups to Beijing and pretended to have the meeting to announce Beijing's commands such as the eight-item announcement and many others. In addition, recently

Beijing has pretended to call on the leaders of the Cambodian and Beijing reactionaries and has announced that it will continue to support them. Actually it does not matter whether Beijing makes the announcement or not. Everyone already knows the routed Pol Pot clique and the Cambodian reactionaries are all Beijing's toys. Thus, these tricks of Beijing are only a comfort for the henchmen who hope to continue to use them as a tool for their old purposes, which are to carry out expansionist and hegemonist plans in Southeast Asia. This is against the trend of the times and against the demands of the nations in this region that want Southeast Asia to be a region of peace, stability and cooperation.

9884
CSO: 4206/14

LAOS

COMMENTARY OF PRK: NEGOTIATIONS ACCEPTABLE, NOT POL POT

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 7 Oct 86 p 4

[Commentary: "Correct Solution Should Be Applied To the Cambodian Issue"]

[Text] In his speech at the 41st National Assembly in New York Mr Souban Salitthilat, vice minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and also leader of the LPDR delegation, said that "the withdrawl of the Vietnamese Volunteer Force from Cambodia must be done simultaneously with getting rid of the Pol Pot clique for correctness and for the national solidarity of Cambodia." This speech clearly affirmed the correct and consistent principles of the LPDR regarding the urgent solution to the Cambodian issue and the border problem for ensuring peace and stability in this region of the world.

Probably everyone knows very well those who have caused instability in Southeast Asia, and created present day tensions, and who are continuing to deny stubbornly the true situation in this region of the world. Imperialist circles and the powerful reactionary forces are all looking critically at the success of the expansion in the three Indochinese nations, including the PRK. They still want the criminal and genocidal Pol Pot clique and its henchmen to regain power in Phnom Penh Capital against the democratic wishes of the persistent Cambodian people. The international fraternity of progressive nations should clearly and correctly see that the righteous interests and the fundamental inviolable rights of the Cambodian people must be protected. The miraculous victory that the Cambodian people have achieved in building a new life, and the national construction and defense of the past 8 years have clearly confirmed that the situation in Cambodia cannot be turned reversed. This is the truth. Their victory and success deserve respect and praise from progressive humanity around the world.

The PRK, the LPDR and the SRV have said repeatedly in their peace initiatives, and especially in the announcment in the circular of the 13th conference of the foreign ministers of the three Indochinese nations on 17-18 August of this year, that they are in agreement about making Southeast Asia a region for peace, friendship and cooperation on the basis of withdrawing alien forces from the region, and also with regard to stopping the interference of foreign nations, as included in a political announcement of the seventh summit of the nonaligned movement. Emphasis was also placed on having the Cambodian issue solved. The PRK is ready for talks with the opposition, whether together or individually, based on the withdrawal of the Vietnamese Volunteer Forces from Cambodia at the same time by Pol Pot clique is eliminated militarily and politically for the sake of correctness and national solidarity. These initiatives have received firm and extensive support on various continents throughout the world as demonstrated clearly by world opinion that has condemned and revealed the uncountable crimes of the genocidal Pol Pot clique that murdered over 3 million Cambodian people. These crimes are continuing to echo throughout the world. Meanwhile, at the eighth summit of nonaligned nations in Harare recently the seat for the Cambodian delegation was left vacant. In addition, the Australian foreign minister proposed that an international court be set up to judge Pol Pot and other murderous groups that committed crimes in Cambodia. This was to be held in June in Manila. All this clearly indicates to us that the solution of the Cambodian issue is of primary importance in the region, and the solution proposed by the three Indochinese nations is the correct and creative way which has received extensive support from peace and justice-loving international opinion. We the Lao people believe that the Cambodian issue will be solved if a correct and reasonable approach is applied. This will be an important way to participate in guaranteeing peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the world.

9884/12948
CSO: 4206/17

ARMY GENERAL TECHNICAL DEPARTMENT PROBLEMS, DOLLAR INCOME NOTED

Vientiane KONGTHAP PASASON LAO in Lao 21 Aug 86 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Lessons From Past Decade Drawn at Adjournment of Army General Technical Department General Meeting"]

[Excerpts] The Army General Tecnnical Department officially adjourned its general meeting on 29 July, 1986. Lieutenant Colonel Phouvone, deputy chief of the department, presided and emphasized lessons from the last decade about events that have improved and weakened the department. More than 150 representatives from various divisions, offices and factories attended the meeting.

The work situation and state of the organization were reported at the meeting. Draft plans in line with planning for the necessary work for fiscal year 1986-87 and future work for fiscal years 1986-1990 were discussed.

The assembly, after 3 days of research, assessed the department's weaknesses and strengths. It was concluded that weaknesses come from a shortage of technical resources for grassroot party committees, an inadequate number of skilled technical cadres and scattered and unstable basic production units. However, overall there has also been considerable and continuous improvement during these 10 years. Performance was outstanding during the first 5-year plan because of the highly aggressive revolutionary spirit of cadres in various sections of the General Technical Department and the leadership of grassroots party committees and the department's local working units. Ten thousand guns and artillery pieces were repaired, as were 280 middle and high class vehicles, 8,960 third class vehicles and parts for 8,687 vehicles. Two light industry plants and hydroelectric plants in Hom and Champa Districts, and many more plants were built, which generated $135,000 for the army.

12597/9190
CSO: 4206/3

LAOS

CHAMPASSAK DISTRICT MILITIA FORCES DESCRIBED

Vientiane KONGTHAP PASASON LAO in Lao 3 Sep 86 p 3

[Article: "Firm Steps of Militia Forces in Soukouma District"]

[Excerpt] The meeting of the local forces of Champassak Province for the first 6 months of 1986 has concluded and drawn its lessons. It quickly and unanimously nominated as the outstanding militia force the one in Soukouma District for its activities of continuously protecting its territory, increasing its manpower and improving its quality.

The occasion actually marks an achievement in implementing the resolution of the province's historic general congress as stated in its slogan, "Struggle to make one's province step into basic security and stability." With that slogan, Soukouma District is one district that has been able to develop a wide spread enthusiastic and aggressive revolutionary spirit among its cadres, state employees and people.

The militia, which is the district's mainstay, is closely supervised and guided by the district party committee and the district command committee. Militia forces in each canton throughout the district are all systematically organized, starting at the group level up to the company level. The primary essence of the strength of the local militia force of Soukouma District is that each canton militia force has a party chapter and in each village there is a group party chapter to guide it. By the beginning of 1986, each militia force unit was able to meet its heavy duties. Every week and month, each militia force unit divides up the territory under its control which is to be patrolled regularly. There is a group on nonstop 24 hour duty at headquarters, which is always ready to respond in case of emergencies and high-level orders.

District military command headquarters has special counseling sessions for militia forces to praise them, and to increase their sense of responsibility. Every 30 days and 90 days, the commander of every militia force must report the condition of his division to district military headquarters, take new plans to be carried out in his locale and increase the efficiency of his militia force. District military headquarters also sends political cadres and military operations trainers to each canton to inform militia cadres and fighters about party policies, and to publicize them. Military operations teachers also undertake necessary military exercise for cadres and fighters to maintain security in grassroots production areas.

The military commander of Soukouma District pointed out in his summary of the first 6 months of 1986 that the entire district is secure, and stable and that people in various villages are cooperating with local forces, and have been able to control the situation and destructive activities of the enemy promptly. One important thing that Soukouma District has done is organize a permanent militia force which moves around widely and knows all the activities of people. The most outstanding thing is that the district has successfully developed and strengthened 4 cantons and that 18 villages have become model villages. This never happened in this district before.

12598/9190
CSO: 4206/3

DIVISION 'E' CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS, COOPERATION WITH SRV

Vientiane KONGTHAP PASASON LAO in Lao 21 Aug 86 p 3

[Excerpts] The E Construction Division did various work over the first 6 months of 1986, primarily with the labor of cadres and workers. It also did various projects, such as construction of a guest house, which is nearly 100 percent complete. This guest house will give division guests a place to stay. Another urgent project underway is construction of three 12-26 meter warehouses for the Ministry of Defense. Inspite of difficulties from a shortage of workers and delays in supplying materials, cadres and workers are struggling to build these warehouses, and the project is 50 percent completed. The project is now being rushed, and it is expected that construction will be completed at the end of 1986. Last May the Construction Division also had workers start work on the office section of its headquarters so that it will have a comfortable work and command place. The Ministries of Defense of the two countries of Laos and the SRV also are cooperating and making progress on their project to build a small hydroelectric dam at Houay Lousi. The initial stage of the project was done with the labor of workers from construction battalions with the aid of officers and men from various offices and sections and the assistance of Vietnamese advisors.

Lieutanant Thongkhane, head of Construction Division E, reported that, along with major projects set by headquarters, cadres and workers have snatched some time to help various divisions restore and construct some of their places. There have been difficulties in carrying out these projects including lumber supply, tardy deliveries of manufactured supplies and trucks, inadequate petroleum, and labor shortages because workers must be scattered about to work in various places.

12597/9190
CSO: 4206/3

XIENG KHOUANG ARMORED UNIT TIES WITH PEOPLE NOTED

Vientiane KONGTHAP PASASON LAO in Lao 21 Aug 86 p 3

[Article by Phab Boualapha: "Five Years of Mutual Reliance"]

[Excerpts] With the material and morale support of the local administration and the people of Xieng Khouang--who care about the cadres and fighters of this unit like their own children--the Xieng Khouang Armored Unit cooperated with other units to fight bravely during the war of liberation, and other wars in the province. The cadres and fighters of this unit understand their political duties, which the party has laid out: They must develop the area under their control, along with fighting on the battlefield. The cadres and fighters of this armored unit have worked with firm determination to build their province and help the local administration and militia force. This has continuously improved the unit's role, and has made the people care about it and love it. This armored unit responds to every situation in which it is needed. It is presently becoming a demi-battalion and does not have time to return and say hello to the people of Xieng Khouang in the Plain des Jars area. Right now this demi-battalion is very proud of the assistance that it has received in every area from the people of Vientiane in general and especially from the people of Ban Gno, Ban Jo, and Ban Kho, just as it has from the people of Xieng Khouang.

That is the truth...! Its contacts with the local people in the area under its control have become a tradition that cannot be ignored. Its important or routine work, and hard or easy work are all assisted and promoted closely by the local administration, which has been regularly guiding the activities of the militia network and security network to guarantee safety in the areas under its control.

Reports are made and lessons drawn every month to guarantee uniform and regular contacts. Comments are sent to the People's Army regularly. The unit takes care not only of its division, but also helps take care of families in every area that are in tight situations. It has sent cadres to keep in close contact with families and help solve problems in times of sickness or other problems. If you observe closely this demi-battalion's relations with the public, it appears as if all the cadres and fighters in it are the children of these people. The people like to share hot chunks of meat or fish, or even a single vegetable with them. On official holidays, the division also regularly sends comrades to help families in need, and sends cadres to counsel families who have sacrificed a spouse or children.

The people have helped them strip the bark for 24 posts, and wood to build houses, and split 30,000 shingles for roofs for free. The people have also helped supply hundreds of kilograms of food, and taken care of ill cadres who can be cured by modern medicine, or they have treated them with native medicines at their homes. And the people have helped build many houses for cadres.

In addition to this close relation, Armored Demi-battalion F is preparing and stepping up regularly to do everything to make this relationship and solidarity stronger than ever, so that its members can unite to succeed in the duties that the nation delegates to them.

12597/9190
CSO: 4206/3

PROVINCIAL, DISTRICT CONGRESSES REPORTED

Mai District, Phong Saly Province

Vientiane KHAOSAN PATHET LAO in Lao 22 Sep 86 p A6

[Article: "The Eighth Party Committee Congress of Mai District, Phong Saly Province, Closes"]

[Excerpt[The eighth party committee congress of Mai District, Phong Saly Province, was closed on 11 September after being held for 6 days. There was a total of 60 members from the district and the grassroots.

Samphan District, Phong Saly

Vientiane KHAOSAN PATHET LAO in Lao 8 Oct 86 p A6

[Article" "The Eighth Party Committee Congress of Samphan District, Phong Saly Province, Closes"]

[Text] The eighth party committee congress of Samphan District, Phong Saly Province, was closed on 4 October after being held for 6 days. There were over 70 party members in attendance, representing various production bases and work sections around the district.

During the meeting these representatives studied and reassessed their past tasks, pointing out strengths and weaknesses and unsolved problems for the purpose of unanimously taking care of the unsolved matters to be in accordance with the actual situation, and to improve their tasks in the new period. Ballots were also cast at the meeting for selecting 19 new [members] for the district committee.

Luang Prabang Congress Opens

Vientiane KHAOSAN PATHET LAO in Lao 29 Sep 86 p A1

[Article: "Second Party Congress of Luang Prabang Province Opens"]

[Text] The second party congress of Luang Prabang Province was opened on 27 September in Luang Prabang District. The meeting was conducted under the chairmanship of Comrade Vongphet Saikeuyachongtua, party central committee member and also secretary of the party executive committee of Luang Prabang Province. There were nearly 100 representatives of cadres and party members from work sections, production bases and various districts who represented party members throughout Luang Prabang District.

Comrade Phoumi Vongvichit, member of the party central committee and assistant chairman of the Council of Ministers was an honored attendee. At the meeting, all the cadres and party members will study and give their opinions for the draft political report of the party central executive committee that will report to the coming fourth party congress. They will also observe and reassess the implementation of the plan and resolution of the first party congress of the Luang Prabang party committee, and will also study the 5-year plan for the province (1986-90). This is to improve and modify the plan so that it will be in accordance with the real situation.

Congress Closes

Vientiane KHAOSAN PATHET LAO in Lao 30 Sep 86 pp A2, 3

[Article: "Luang Prabang Province Party Committee Closes Its Meeting for the Cadres"]

[Text] The meeting for cadres of the Luang Prabang Province party committee under the chairmanship of Mr Vongphet Saikeuyachongtua, a member of the party central committee, secretary of the Luang Prabang Provincial Party executive committee, and also chairman of the Luang Prabang Province administrative committee, closed on 28 September in Luang Prabang Province with glorious success. There were 93 participants who were members of the party committee, the provincial administrative committee, the district administrative committee from 8 districts, and party members from the work sections around the province and various production bases throughout the district.

The attendees studied and put their opinions into the draft party central committee political report which will be given to the fourth party congress. They also observed and reassessed the implementation of the resolution of the first provincial party congress in order to improve the second 5-year plan (1986-90) so that it will be in accordance with the actual situation in the province. The meeting also opened a campaign to carry out the 4th quarter tasks of 1986 in order to score achievements for this coming party congress. The attendees also cast ballots to select 10 regular representatives to participate in the 4th party congress to be held in the future.

During the meeting Mr Phoumi Vongvichit gave a speech and praised the achievements scored by all the parties and the people of Luang Prabang Province over the period of the last year, and also pointed out the fine heritige of the people of Luang Prabang that must be continuously and extensively promoted so that it will become a lesson for the new generation. He also emphasized the turning point of the transformation of the main economic units to business and the reconstruct the managerial machinery nationwide and in Luang Prabang Province in particular so that it will be in accordance with the actual situation.

9884/12948
CSO: 3206/17

JAPANESE SILKWORM EXPERT LEAVES, PROJECT DESCRIBED

Vientiane VIENTIANE MAI in Lao 2 Oct 86 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Japanese Experts Pay Farewell Visit To Mr Sithon Sibounheung"]

[Text] On the evening of 30 September at Lansang Hotel in Vientiane Capital Mr Sithon Sibounheung, a regular member of the party committee, assistant chairman of the administrative committee and chief of the Laos-Vietnam-Cambodia Economic and Cultural Cooperation in Vientiane Capital, welcomed a farewell visit by Mr Akiri Kosoda, a Japanese expert on raising silkworms, and his team after they successfully carried out a year-long project to help Vientiane Capital.

At this meeting Mr Sithon Sibounheung praised the success of the Japanese-assisted project. The assistant chairman also wished Mr Akiri Kosoda and his team a safe trip home, and expressed the wish that the friendship and cooperation between Laos and Japan would continue to bear fruit steadily.

The joint silkworm raising project is located in Hatsaifong District, which will carry out the silkworm raising experiment. Installation of the machine to produce silk threads has been completed with a total value of over Y35 billion.

9884/12948
CSO: 4206/20

LAOS

VIENTIANE CAPITAL DISTRICT SECURITY PROBLEMS NOTED

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 23 Sep 86 p 3

[Article: "Security Work in Hat Kiang Canton"]

[Excerpts] Hat Kiang is one of the cantons in Saithani District, Vientiane Capital. It is spread over a large area. In his summary, the commander of the canton guerrilla unit pointed out the guerrilla work during the past 10 years. In the beginning the enemies used many forms of propaganda in a determined effort to destroy the new regime in the locality, and this greatly affected the people. For example, this frightened a number of youth union members, and caused them to lose confidence in the party's policies. They believed in the enemies' propaganda and fled their homeland. The enemies propagandized against the party's policies, incited against and dismantled the agricultural co-ops, etc. Over the past 10 years the Hat Kiang Canton guerrilla forces have resolutely uprooted the hidden bandit's nest in this locality. For example, in 1978 the reactionary exiles had gathered their forces and joined together with those who had crossed the river from the west. They risked going to Ban Hat Pha in order to wipe out the youth union and suppress the guerrilla force therewith by their opposing schemes. They were finally beaten back by the local youth union in a timely manner. Since then there has been no further sign of the bandits' activities. Although the guerrilla force in this canton has just been organized, and naturally their fighting competence is not fully developed, and they have not yet begun to understand the party's policies, yet they have a lofty spirit of sacrifice according to the slogan, "We must have self-mastery and we must resolutely protect our land so that we will have peace. This is our priority." The guerrillas have an important duty in the local administrative committee. They are the people's force to defend the land, and the property of the people. The guerrilla force has become a production force in organizing and implementing the agricultural co-op's collective production, and they are also involved in security work. In addition they have organized people to assist families who were victims of various disasters. They resolutely encouraged and led the people in the enthusiastic implementation of the party's policies, and they joined forces to further defense and security work.

Besides their security work at the base where they effectively inspected and guarded the land, the guerrilla unit and the people became driving forces in inspecting and calling in those involved in undesirable activities, and youth union members who had been affected by social dangers for total reeducation. As a result, their locality is basically at peace. In strengthening its force over the past 10 years, with the close guidance of the administrative committee, and the district military command the guerrilla force was organized, received military training, and studied and absorbed the party's policies in order to raise their consciousness and to make them ever ready to fight.

9884
CSO; 4206/14

PAPER WANTS MORE VIGILANCE IN FACE OF ENEMY PSYWAR

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 24 Sep 86 pp 1, 2

[Article: "We Must Be Vigilant Against All the Enemies' Schemes"]

[Excerpt] Because our country is a socialist outpost in Southeast Asia which directly confronts its enemies, and has become a target for destruction with many clever and cruel schemes, the imperialists and reactionaries have carried out many types of destructive warfare with clever and cruel schemes in order to destroy our country's revolution. However, because the entire party, the army, and the people deeply understand the correct policies of our party and its unshakeable principles against its enemies, they have been able to fight back against these enemies and destroy their schemes, step by step.

Although they have been defeated many times, their animosity, and the fact that they are serious about the life and death of the revolution has made them stubborn and insistent. Now they are taking advantage of a changing world where people can come face to face for discussions and compromise on ways to solve problems. They have also increased the psychological warfare in order to persuade and poison our ideology. Besides continuing to use the old schemes, such as employing many forms of propaganda to cause disunity between ethnic groups, the cadres and the people, between high and lower levels, between us and our friends, and between us and the socialist countries and the three countries of Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia, including bribery, distortion, etc., they are now using a new trick, ["a change for peace"], which means that they pretend to create a relaxed situation, and that they want to solve the problems by peaceful means, etc. Their purpose is to lure us to rejoice, to become less vigilant, to believe them, and to fall for their tricks. Superficially the situation appears improved and relaxed, but when it is examined carefully we can see immediately that it is only a new scheme to dismantle the revolution. There is nothing changed at all.

9884
CSO: 4206/14

SALARY, BENEFIT DISPARITIES, USE OF ENGLISH DISCUSSED

Vientiane VIENTIANE MAI in Lao 3 Sep 86 p 2

[Column: "Why Salary Disparities"]

[Excerpt] 1. Why do construction workers who work more get one-third less pay than cadres in offices?

2. Why do cadres in offices have free uniforms but workers do not?

3. I do not think it is right that the desks of cadres in offices in my company have signs in English.

My best wishes to you and good health.

19 August 1986

From a Lao worker.

Dear Lao Worker:

As the editor, I do not know how to answer your letter because your questions are vague. You have to give me the circumstances and reasons (causes and effects) so that I can make realistic conclusions. But so that you have not wasted your time, I have these opinions:

1. Approvals for salary rates are based on many factors, such as the term of service, educational level, abilities, qualifications and the position of each individual. Everything is taken into consideration in a salary review, including the current circumstances of the organization. Suppose you get a lower salary than office workers; it may be because of the reasons mentioned above. (Review your job duties, abilities and qualifications once again).

2. Implementing a salary policy for workers, in particular, providing uniforms to workers, must be based in large part on your company's or factory's income. If income is high, clothes can be provided for everyone. However, if it is low, surely each company must analyze each case and gradually apply its findings to everyone. It might take 3 months, 6 months or 1 year, according to the condition of company income.

3. If the work involves international contacts, then using foreign languages on signs is not wrong at all; however, Lao must be written on top of the sign as an expression of our national independence.

Goodbye.

12597/9190
CSO: 4206/3

MOUNTAIN AREA DEVELOPMENT FIRM WORKS IN BOLIKHAMSAI, KHAMMOUANE

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 1 Sep 86 p 2

[Excerpts] The Mountain Area Development Company has plans with detailed calculations to expand the cultivated areas for the hill tribe people in some areas of Bolikhamsai Province.

In the nearly 18 months from January 1985 to June 1986, all the cooperative plans of the local administrations for expanding cultivated areas for rice and secondary starchy crops fields, and for growing trees for industrial uses have been implemented as projected. One small-scale irrigation system has been built and completed, 500 ha of new rice fields tilled, some medium-scale irrigation systems planned and designed, and 50 Hmong families were brought to settle permanently and earn their living in a fixed place. People in many of the villages have helped plant industrial trees and secondary crops. Supplying equipment to people to use in production in this locale has become normalized. Many villages in Khamkeut, Yommalat and Phathong Districts have set up collective exchange stores. These help meet immediate needs, such as salt, oil for lamps, hoes, shovels, axes, plow tongues, insecticides, and others.

It is clearly specified in plans to expand the cultivated area for the hill tribes that from now until 1987, local administrations will cooperate with the Mountain Area Development Company to expand rice fields by 500 ha by guaranteeing sufficient water supplies to nuture rice plants, and by continuing to restore and improve every size of existing irrigation systems. It is predicted that in 1987, each individual of the 20,000 population will need 350 kilograms of paddy rice. In addition to growing rice, the local administration will also advise and eccourage people to grow more and more industrial crops, such as plants that yield oils coffee, cardamum, tea, peanuts, mung beans and soy beans.

The company will help with expanding and adding agricultural cooperatives, encouraging people to look for forest goods for regular exchange with the state, with the aim of putting a stop to the black market, and more successfully implementing the regulations of the state's economic system.

Other projects including a small-scale hydroelectric dam, an agricultural products processing factory, and an agricultural tools and equipment factory will be started with the enormous responsibility of continuing the development and building of support systems. All these will be undertaken to improve collective agricultural production, and successfully to promote the changeover from slash and burn cultivation to permanent location farming in order to score achievements to commemorate the upcoming 4th General Party Congress.

12597/9190
CSO: 4206/3

SAVANNAKHET DISTRICT SELF-SUFFICIENCY, CROP YIELDS NOTED

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 1 Sep 86 p 2

[Article: "Song Khone District Steps Up With A New Performance"]

[Excerpts] Song Khone District is one among Savannakhet Province's 10 districts moving on the bright road of national progress, and becoming a pioneering center and strong socialist camp in Savannakhet Province. It is also the district where the province's agricultural prdduction is concentrated.

Song Khone District consists of 15 cantons, 142 villages and a total population of 60,000.

In the agricultural area, over the past 10 years the province has organized farmers who formerly were isolated into collective production groups by setting up 64 agricultural cooperative units. In 1985 alone, they added 59 units. The entire district has a total 11,000 ha of rice fields. Crop yields in 1985 totaled 26,320 tons, which is 11,000 tons more than in 1975-76. In 1985, one person received an average 463 kilograms of paddy, which is 48.38 percent more than in 1976.

In the economic area, the district's annual revenues increased by 133 percent and expenditures increased by 128 percent. The district has had a positive balance of revenues and expenses, and has been self-sufficient since 1984. It is interested in gradually improving economic tasks and contributing to reforming the economy. It is relying on nature, but also expanding economic research and building the economy in the direction of socialism. For example, in the area of commerce, the state trading network is being expanded, and 6 trading units and 30 cooperative trading stores and public collective trading stores have been established. The volume of trade between the people and the state has increased each year by 30 percent, of which 75 percent is in the rice trade, researching production sites and gathering important merchandise; the plan is 75 percent completed. Banks and financial institutes are playing a central role in paying debts, controlling exchange rates and valuable goods and they are also performing their central management roles to expand the economy, and perform tasks for the people in the areas of culture, social work, defense and security.

12597/9190
CSO: 4206/3

SEIZURE, RECLAMATION OF SMUGGLED GOODS DISCUSSED

Vientiane VIENTIANE MAI in Lao 29, 30 Sep 86

[29 Sep 86 p 2]

["Readers' Friends" Column]

[Excerpts] [Question] We decided to buy a television set that someone came to sell to us at our house in Suan Mon. After watching it for a little over 20 days the authorities seized it beacuse the TV had been smuggled in. (The seller was arrested). What can we do to get our TV back?

[30 Sep 86 p 2]

["Readers' Friends" Column]

[Excerpt] [Answer] We would like breifly to discuss this matter first, and if it is still unclear to you, please write to us again. We think it is not quite proper to use the word "seizure." In fact, it is not seizure but an inspection and holding of the smuggled goods. The reason is that it is against the law to bring goods in or out of a country without paying taxes, or without official approval, and wrongdoers must be punished according to the law. Thus, we must follow the law so that we will be patriots.

To get the TV set back you must contact the authorities concerned again to see what the regulations are. In terms of the law, the buyer and seller have both committed something wrong in buying stolen goods. That is why, in buying or selling anything there must be a paper to confirm (a paper for a joint purchasing agreement) that the goods are not stolen, smuggled, etc. This is enough for now. We hope that you understand. Good luck. Goodbye.

9884/12948
CSO: 4206/20

COLUMN DISCUSSES OPEN DISPLAY OF WAR WEAPONS

Vientiane VIENTIANE MAI in Lao 26 Sep 86 pp 2, 4

["Readers' Friend" Column: "What Must One Do To Carry Weapons With Them?"]

[Excerpts] [Question] My name is Mr Sila, and I am a sanitary worker in Vientiane Capital. I would like to ask you about the people who carry weapons with them downtown in Vientiane Capital. You can probably understand that the weapons I am talking about are not those of military units or any uniformed officials who travel or carry out their duty in various locations. Instead, I am talking about something I have seen many times along the streets in downtown Vientiane Capital. I have seen people carry war weapons, and I could not figure out whether they were officers or not. Sometimes I have seen people carry AK or M16 rifles without an army or police uniform riding bicycles among other people. Many times I have seen people with handguns inside their waists (visible to others) and riding motorcycles along various streets.

Please explain these things to me. If the jobs of these people require them to carry weapons, what is the correct way for them to do so. Thank you. 15 September 1986.

[Answer] Based on my opinions and on what I have discussed with those whose jobs are concerned with national defense and security work, the holding of weapons by the military or public security can be in two categories: openly when they are in uniform when they are carrying out their duty, and secretly, when they are going to work or doing their personal errands, with or without uniform. However, the guns must be covered well to avoid "showing off weapons." In this case our cadres and combatants have correctly and admirably adhered to the regulations. Along with these good points, we cannot deny the weak points, and some things that indicate showing off, this is only a minority, and it is not a serious problem at all. It is only a phenomenon. I think it can be solved without affecting others. I only want to discuss this briefly for now. I wish you good luck and good health.

9884/12948
CSO: 4206/20

BRIEFS

VIENTIANE TRANSPORT COMPANY PROFITS--The short-term socialist emulation campaign of the Vientiane Capital Land Transport Company held for 1 month was completed successfully on 16 September. The workers were able to achieve the following aspects of the transport plan. They transported 4,035 tons of assorted goods or 131 percent of the plan, circulated 216,579 tons of goods per km or 113 percent of the plan, and the total income was 4,288,749 kip, with 3,852,419 kip for total expenses and 1,435,329 kip for total profits. [Excerpts] [Vientiane KHAOSAN PATHET LAO in Lao 4 Oct 86 pp A6, 7] 9884/12948

LUANG PRABANG MILITARY RECRUITMENT--National defense and security work in many localities in Luang Prabang Province is increasing in strength. In the first 6 months of this year over 300 youth in different localities within the province have volunteered to serve the nation. A number of medium level medical training students have also volunteered to apply their specialized task in the military forces after they complete the curriculum. [Text] [Vientiane KHAOSAN PATHET LAO in Lao 4 Oct 86 p A7] 9884/12948

HATSAIFONG DISTRICT MILITARY DRAFT--The district military command of Hatsaifong District, Vientiane Capital, held an official ceremony to commemorate the transfer of the youth who have volunteered to serve the nation at the end of September. There were many participants from the party committee, the administrative committee, and representatives of the Vientiane Capital and district military command. During the meeting the committee organizing the ceremony stated that from the mobilization period until now 207 youth districtwide have volunteered to carry out their duty for the country. The military headquarters in the capital and Hatsaifong District have already taken them in for training on various subjects. On the same occasion the district military command praised and expressed its gratitude to the people, the administrative committee, the mass organizations and the youth organization for their cooperation and help in making the past mobilization campaign a glorious success, and they also believe they will hvae extensive cooperation from the people and the administrative committee. [Text] [Vientiane VIENTIANE MAI in Lao 7 Oct 86 pp 1, 4] 9884/12948

VIENTIANE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, DOLLAR EXPORTS--Industry and handicraft work in the past years has progressed at a fairly regular pace. Our Vientiane Capital has achieved much in the construction of and production of a number of factories. For example, there are factories for producing paper, plastics, rubber, bread and sweets. In the first 6 months of 1986 the total value for the production from various factories and handicraft co-ops was 291,716,514.90 kip, and 35,344,341.34 kip was put into the treasury as their obligation. At the same time, many new things have happened in circulation and consumer work. For example, the private trading in the morning market has been modified so that it is more orderly, 10 trade co-ops have been added, and $473,194 worth of goods has been exported. In financial matters the bank [in Vientiane Capital] was able to earn money for the treasury and distributed treasury expenditures on a normal basis. Vientiane Capital repaired a total of 25 km of dirt roads, and repaired a total length of 81 km of Route 13 north and south. [Excerpts] [Vientiane VIENTIANE MAI in Lao 4 Oct 86 p 2] 9884/12948

HO CHI MINH CITY TO VIENTIANE--On the evening of 24 September Mr Sithon Sibounheung, regular party committee member, assistant chairman of the administrative committee, and also chief of the committee for Vientiane Capital-Hanoi-Phnom Penh Economic and Cultural Cooperation received the farewell visit of Mr (Phanc La Cao), assistant chief of the delegation of agricultural took experts of Ho Chi Minh City along with his team in the office of the administrative committee of Vientiane Capital, after completing their assistance for installing machinery for pressing wires, and a machine to give them a coating with a shiny collar for the agricultural tool production factory in Vientiane Capital. The project went from 25 July to 10 September. During the conversation the assistant chairman of the administrative committee of Vientiane Capital expressed gratitude for the assistance of the party committees, the people's committee in Ho Chi Minh City to the people of Vientiane Capital throughout the past, and expressed the hope that the friendhip and cooperation between Vientiane and Ho Chi Minh would become every stronger. The conversation took place in a very friendly atmosphere. [Text] [Vientiane VIENTIANE MAI in Lao 26 Sep 86 pp 1, 4] 9884/12948

PRE-CONGRESS PARTY MEETINGS--The third session of the pre-congress party meeting of Vientiane Capital was successfully closed on the evening of 27 September in the office of the Vientiane Capital administrative committee after lasting for 2 days. There were people from the Vientiane Capital party committee who attended under the chairmanship of Mr Sisavat Keobounphan, secretary of the party central committee and also secretary of the Vientiane Capital party committee. On this occasion the meeting summarized the lessons, strengths and weaknesses and unresolved work of the past three sessions in the socialist capital that is progressive and strong in all aspects, and that also has a sense of consciousness against all the schemes of the enemies in a timely fashion. This is to take part in emulating to score achievements for upcoming the fourth party congress so that it will have a profound meaning. [Text] [Vientiane VIENTIANE MAI in Lao 29 Sep 86 pp 1, 4] 9884/12948

LUANG PRABANG TRADE CO-OPS--Trade cooperativization in Luang Prabang Province is expanding and becoming of greater interest to the people. Since January of this year the people in the province have organized 73 trade co-op units, now making 163 units districtwide. There are over 9,400 collective shares and 968,500 kip of revolving capital. The reason for the increase in the number of trade co-ops is that most of the ethnic peoples understand the significance of and benefits from trade cooperativization which attracts income for the individual and the whole, based on mutual interests, and which takes part in building up socialism in our country and keeping it strong. [Text] [Vientiane PASASON in Lao 23 Sep 86 p 1] 9884

CHAMPASSAK MILITARY RECRUITMENT--In the first 6 months of this year as many as 60 youth in Bachiang Chaleunsouk District, Champassak Province, have awakened and carried out their duty toward the country by voluntarily taking part in the ranks of the military forces in national defense and security. These youth have now been assigned to various military units. [Excerpt] [Vientiane PASASON in Lao 7 Oct 86 p 1] 9884/12948

LOUANG NAMTHA TRADE CO-OPS--Recently the mobilization committee for setting up trade co-ops in the Louang Namtha Province trade section has worked with the Louang Namtha District trade section to mobilize the working people to improve and organize trade co-ops in every locality. When the work was completed there were 11 trade co-ops and over 50 cadres in service throughout Louang Namtha District. The trade co-op units in this area were set up by the agricultural co-op members' joint funds of over 300,000 kip, and 1,963 shares, and also some stocks were included such as many tons of rice and salt valued at over 900,000 kip. There was also a bank loan for use in trade in each locality, to be applied where it is needed, and thus it will help in steadily expanding and strengthening economic construction within the district. [Text] [Vientiane PASASON in Lao 7 Oct 86 p 1] 9884/12948

CSO: 4206/17

MALAYSIA

ARMY STEPPING UP CONVENTIONAL WARFARE TRAINING

Kuala Lumpur UTUSAN MALAYSIA in Malay 23 Sep 86 p 13

[Article by Aziz Ishak: "Army Steps Up Conventional Warfare Training"]

[Text] It is 53 years since the Malaysian Armed Forces (ATM) were established, and now the Army has taken steps to upgrade its capability to meet various threats, including the threat of conventional war.

Toward this goal, the Army is stepping up training a la conventional war to increase the combat and tactical capabilities of all of its units.

Serious efforts are clearly being made as demonstrated by a number of exercises that were carried out early this year such as the "Battle Camp" training at Camp Asahan in Melaka, which was described as the most successful effort toward this goal.

The concept of conventional warfare (open warfare) is a new method of combat which is becoming increasingly popular in view of the world situation today. Whether it wants to or not, every country must be prepared for it.

The history of war has proved that this type of warfare really requires balanced strength especially for the army supported by fighter aircraft and, if necessary, by the navy.

Only well established military forces with the best strategy can be successful. This was made clear by the experiences of the Falkland, the American-Vietnamese, the Egyptian-Israeli wars, and now the Iranian and Iraqi war.

To defense observers, countries in Southeast Asia are also wide open to the threat of conventional war perhaps deriving from the aggression of the big powers, especially the communist bloc.

Knowledge of the strategy for this type of warfare becomes very important, and the step taken to heighten military capabilities is precisely the step needed for the long-term interests of national security.

Earlier the Army offered training more in accord with ordinary warfare principles to meet the threat of communist terrorists in this country.

Despite its image, Malaysia's efforts to combat communist terrorists amazed foreign countries, and this made the ATM, especially the Army, famous. It was described as the best army for fighting jungle warfare.

General Tan Sri Ghazali Che Mat, Armed Forces commander, said the steps being taken to upgrade the effectiveness of the Army in fighting a conventional war is in accord with the government's desire to turn the ATM into a dynamic force with balanced strength by the year 2000.

As to effectiveness, the Army has demonstrated that it is experienced in fighting jungle warfare and is continually "being tested" by communist terrorists in the northern part of the peninsula and in Sarawak.

Efforts are also being made to accelerate recruitment to 2,000 to 4,000 men each year to achieve a total force of 20,000 by the end of the Fifth Malaysian Plan (by 1990).

Capable Troops

The aim of recruitment is not merely to increase the size of the Army but it clearly demonstrates the desire of the ATM to enlist enough capable, young, trained personnel to meet national requirements.

Under the conventional warfare concept, the Army will acquire parachutists by offering training to some Army personnel. Earlier, such training was given only to commando troops to heighten their combat capability.

Not only a strong army but the effectiveness of its supporting arms, especially artillery and cavalry (tank troops), are needed to meet the possible threat from this type of warfare.

This is important for developing a meaningful strategy as well as for meeting the goal of defending against or responding to an enemy attack. The role of fighter aircraft is also important.

From the aspect of artillery fire power, we have only been able to fire 105-mm guns. At the minimum, a medium gun is needed for firing at longer range.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that the ATM is unable to demonstrate an impressive capability. We understand that the Defense Ministry is studying the possibility of purchasing more sophisticated artillery weapons.

The government has also budgeted $847 million [Malaysian dollars] for the purchase of cavalry vehicles such as the Scorpion and Sibmas tanks, and their acquisition will provide more impressive means in support of the infantry.

The Defense Ministry has assured us that these troops would then have enough "fire power and punch" to conduct both conventional warfare operational mission, and "counterinsurgency" missions.

Support from cavalry and artillery units as well as from the Air Force is important for increasing "mobility" and "fire power," two important factors on the battlefield.

The steps taken by the ATM to prepare "itself" for conventional warfare are wise, mature, and sensitive to national security interests.

Although we are not yet tested in this type of warfare, the serious preparations that have been made in regard to training as well as the Army's experiences to date will make the ATM more capable of facing any type of warfare.

What makes us even more proud is that the Army will also establish a biological and chemical defense cell to train its personnel to face biological and chemical warfare, which also is a type of conventional warfare.

6804
CSO: 4213/10

MALAYSIA

CONTINUATION OF NEP BEYOND 1990 DEFENDED

Kuala Lumpur UTUSAN MALAYSIA in Malay 20 Sep 86 p 8

[Editorial: "Continuation of the New Economic Policy"]

[Text] In his policy speech, Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir, the UMNO [United Malays National Organization] president, asserted that time was less important than the targets as a factor in this policy. With the speech, the prime minister responded to rumors that have been circulating among non-Malays that the targets would be extended beyond 1990.

The reason why this is true is not because the NEP failed to achieve its targets but rather because it did not achieve them totally as had been desired. The major cause of the failure to achieve the targets in the 20-year period set for them by the early planners is the economic recession.

In the past few years, moreover in the election just past, the NEP was the main issue exploited endlessly by the opposition. The opposition wanted this policy to be discontinued because, they said, it polarized the ethnic groups. In such polarization, Malaysians were categorized as bumiputera [indigenous people] and non-bumiputera.

Actually, the NEP is not an ethnic policy, but analyses of the policy have been made from ethnic standpoints. If critics kept an open mind, they would agree that the NEP is a policy that fights for those who live in poverty. In truth, most Malays in Malaysia fall into this category.

The terms bumiputera and non-bumiputera were used to readily identify the target group to be aided by this policy. Their use was not intended to divide the people. If the opposition viewed these terms as the main cause of polarization of the ethnic groups in this country, were they not aware that the economic gap between those in different groups was more likely to create ethnic polarization?

The economic gap between the rich and the poor is more dangerous and can more readily create discontent among the people than can the use of these terms because the gap is a reality that touches on the daily lives of the people.

If the critics of the NEP really thought about ethnic polarization, they would, of course, see that the NEP is a policy that fights against the biggest source of ethnic polarization, the economic problem.

However, the critics clearly hide behind their reputed fear that the ethnic groups will polarize. Their real purpose is to perpetuate the situation in which the bumiputeras stay poor and the non-bumiputeras maintain control over the wealth of this country.

6804
CSO: 4213/10

MALAYSIA

ABDULLAH AHMAD CLARIFIES CONTROVERSIAL SPEECH

Kuala Lumpur MINGGUAN MALAYSIA in Malay 28 Sep 86 p 3

[Article: "I Am Not Anti-Chinese Says Abdullah"]

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 27 September-Datuk Abdullah Ahmad, member of Parliament representing Kok Lanas, clarified that he was not anti-Chinese as had been alleged by some persons after he made a controversial speech in Singapore.

Datuk Abdullah also clarified that he was not afraid of the Chinese.

The speech, he said, merely expressed the desires of the Malay community in this country who wanted to determine their own fate and that of their homeland.

"I only said what I believed and what I know about the desires of the Malay community. Was this wrong?" he asked in an interview with the SIN CHEW newspaper last night.

Datuk Abdullah said the Chinese community should regard his speech as a contribution to public education on the desires of the Malay community and not as one that was biased toward Malays.

He also explained that his purpose in speaking in this manner in Singapore was to remind everyone about Malaysia's political system so that it would not be misunderstood by anyone.

Political System

This country's political system, he said, is the best system for ensuring ethnic harmony. Nevertheless, not all members of society know the principles on which this system is based.

"We do not want our society to feel isolated because they do not know or do not understand the principles on which this system is based," he added.

Concerning his speech in which he said that Malays would rather share poverty with the Indonesians than lose their political power, Datuk Abdullah said he did not propose this in his speech but merely repeated what had been expressed by groups of Malays.

According to Datuk Abdullah, this was what most of the Malay community wanted, and it was demonstrated at the UMNO [United Malays National Organization] meeting held recently in which the delegates put forth the same desire. His purpose in expressing their desire was only to educate the public, he said.

Datuk Abdullah, who is also a former deputy minister in the prime minister's office, drew attention to the fact that he was not seeking popularity nor did he have any political motives for making the speech.

He said the public in Malaysia is not so dumb that it can be deceived. It will make its own judgment of what is being said.

6804
CSO: 4213/10

MALAYSIA

LING LIONG SIK PROFILED

Kuala Lumpur UTUSAN MALAYSIA in Malay 5 Sep 86 p 4

[Article: "Profile of New MCA President; Ling LIong Sik Felt Capable of Heading MCA"]

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 4 September--Mr Tan Koon Swan, former MCA [Malayan Chinese Association] president, feels Datuk Dr Ling Liong Sik is an "honest, sincere, and trustworthy leader," who is capable of leading the party in a continuing positive direction.

Datuk Dr Ling became a member of the MCA in the seventies when he joined the Telaga Air MCA branch in the Mata Kuching District, Pinang Island.

He was born in Kuala Kangsar and obtained his early education in Taiping. After graduating from the Sungai Besi Royal Military Academy, he continued his studies for the M.B.B.S. degree at the University of Singapore.

After he won the Mata Kuching seat in Parliament in 1974, Datuk Dr Ling was appointed parliamentary secretary for the Ministry of Local Government in 1976.

The deplorable affair of Saturday, 19 March 1984, in which he and 13 other persons including Mr Tan were involved, was a departure point for Datuk Dr Ling.

He worked hard with the Tan Koon Swan faction to secure its position in the party. He then became Mr Tan's strong man on the provisional executive committee headed by Mr Ghafar Baba in eliminating "phantom members' from the party's roll and holding its election.

The phantom member issue led to the division of the party into two factions, the Datuk Dr Neo Yee Pan (then the party's acting president) faction and the Tan Koon Swan (then its deputy president) faction. Dr Ling was responsible for the expulsion of 14 MCA leaders.

However, Datuk Dr Ling and others who were expelled from the party were reinstated as ordinary members in February of last year.

The party election in November of last year saw changes in the leadership, with Mr Tan gaining an impressive victory. Datuk Dr Ling was elected deputy president--second in rank to Mr Tan.

Dr Ling was appointed deputy minister of education in March of last year and as minister of transportation this past January.

He ran for and won the seat in Parliament for Labis, Johore State, in the general election held early last month when he retained the cabinet position of transportation minister although Prime Minister Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir Mohamad reorganized the cabinet on 12 August.

Prior to his expulsion from the party, he was the deputy minister of finance from 1982 to 1984. From 1978 to 1981 he was the deputy minister of information. --BERNAMA.

6804
CSO: 4213/10

REEXAMINATION OF ILLEGAL IMMIGRANT ISSUE URGED

Kuala Lumpur UTUSAN MALAYSIA in Malay 25 Sep 86 p 8

[Editorial: "Illegal Immigrant Issue Must be Reexamined"]

[Text] The general public feels the same concern as Mr Muhammad Mohd. Taib, chief minister of Selangor, regarding illegal immigrants. Day after day we increasingly feel that they create more problems in our daily lives than they support national development.

The public more and more feels that disorder created by criminal illegal immigrants is increasing and that job opportunities and businesses have been taken over by these non-Malaysians. Now we join in having doubts about the view that their manpower is needed to meet the domestic labor shortage.

Actually, we have an agreement with the Indonesian government concerning the provision of labor, but what has happened is that syndicates have organized an apparently large number of illegal immigrants for passage to Malaysia. For example, in 1985 alone, the immigration authorities deported 16,000 illegal immigrants.

From the number of illegal immigrants deported in that year, we gain some idea of how active they have been in passing illegal immigrants into Malaysia. We do not know how many have entered Malaysia illegally. No estimate is available from the immigration authorities, and the illegal immigrants are still in this country.

Since there is an alarming number of illegal immigrants in the country, we support the proposal to increase the watch along our coasts and wherever there is an entry point. The government should try to break up the activities of the syndicates that are so energetically trading in these illegal immigrants.

The time has come for the government to reexamine its earlier target of bringing foreign labor into the country to meet the domestic labor shortage not only because there are so many foreign workers here and the many crimes that are committed but also because of the economic recession which has resulted in so many of our own workers being unemployed.

We do not want foreign workers taking jobs away from our own people as has happened in Chow Kit, Kuala Lumpur, where petty tradesmen grumble because their means of livelihood have been lost to the many Indonesian immigrants who have turned to such trade.

The importation of foreign labor perhaps was consistent with the country's requirements several years ago when the economy was growing rapidly and we needed labor for the estates and also to work on housing projects. However, the economic situation now is at a depressed stage and, therefore, they perhaps are no longer needed.

6804
CSO: 4213/10

MALAYSIA

BRIEFS

PAS URGED TO DISBAND--Alor Star, Tuesday [16 September]--HAMIM [Hizbulmuslimin Party] and BERJASA [All-Malaysia Muslim Brotherhood Front] today asked the PAS [Pan-Malayan Islamic Party] leadership to disband the party and establish a proselyting organization to unite Muslims who are divided because of its poor conduct. Datuk Haji Sudin Wahab, chairman of the Central HAMIM Information Office, said the PAS leaders would gain nothing if they merely discussed whether the party should participate in the coming election at its congress to be held in Rusila, Terengganu, on Friday [19 September]. Datuk Haji Sudin, who is also the former Kedah deputy commissioner of PAS, said PAS leaders had made a decision on the matter earlier but they did not keep to it. According to Datuk Haji Sudin, this happened because they had no uniform stand on the matter and "said one thing and did another." "The public is fed up with their attitude. They still do not want to admit that the party was rejected by the public in the past election," he said. Datuk Haji Sudin said Muslims would support it if the PAS disbanded and became a proselyting organization. Drs Abdul Jalil Ahmad, chairman of the Central BERJASA Youth Movement, said the PAS leaders would be better off if they decided to disband the party rather than discuss the election. He said they should notify the members that the party would no longer be active in politics and would only work to promote the teachings of Islam. According to Drs Abdul Jalil Ahmad, the Nahdlatul Ulema [Muslim Scholars Party] and the Ahmadiah in Indonesia initially were active in political struggles, but they were turned into proselyting organizations without any political components. "We hope the PAS will participate in activities like those of the two former Indonesian political parties to unite Muslims who are going their separate ways because of the party's behavior," he said. Drs Abdul Jalil is convinced that if the PAS takes this step, Muslims will support it in the successful proselyting of Islam without linking it to any political ideology. [Text] [Kuala Lumpur BERITA HARIAN in Malay 20 Sep 86 p 2] 6804

CSO: 4213/10

THAILAND

WIRA LESE MAJESTE CASE, PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRATS DISCUSSED

Wira Musikaphong Interview

Bangkok LAENG KHAO in Thai 15-22 Sep 86 pp 33-35

[Interview with Wira, former deputy minister of interior; interviewer not identified; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] Where did the deputy minister of the interior get 2 million baht?

[Question] Would you please tell us the reasons why you decided to resign as Deputy Minister of the Interior? Is it also true that there were external pressures?

[Answer] I did not interfere with the judicial powers, and I could not keep the police and the public prosecutor from gossiping. There is always criticism about unfairness and influence which we cannot stop these people from discussing. It is damaging when people talk about these things. When there was damage, there was only one way to stop it and the accusations: I had to resign my position. That is the first reason.

The second reason is politics. Members of Parliament were going to open discussions on a no-confidence vote. I thought that the government was worried about this. I believed I was the person who caused the problem, however, I was not worried about the no-confidence vote talk. I was ready to discuss, explain, and fight everything, but I did not think it was proper for others to be worried about my problem, therefore, I resigned. Thus, they stopped talking about a no-confidence vote and the entire cabinet was relieved. These are the two reasons for my decision.

...if you ask me why I just made my decision...I mentioned earlier that the situation changed everyday, I could not do anything out of step.

[Question] What is the background to asking for a royal pardon? Who coordinated it?

[Answer] Concerning requesting a royal pardon, this came about because a group of senators, consisting of officers of the Royal Guard, questioned the affair and the government's proposed action and initiated a Parliamentary motion to investigate the matter. When they made this motion, I felt that they were serious so I made an appointment to clarify the affair with them; they were satisfied, and were prepared to withdraw the motion when they learned that the government would let the police handle the case. Based on that discussion, we felt that there had been damaging criticism by the media which may have caused the king irritation. We had to be sensitive to that irritation so we felt that I should ask for a royal pardon.

[Question] Did you consult with the prime minister before you resigned?

[Answer] I informed him of my reasons before I resigned. I met with Major General Mongkhon, and discussed the proper way of resigning, for example, either by sending in a letter of resignation, and not going to work or resigning in person. Finally, we felt that the people were interested in the affair, therefore, I called a press conference to let the people know about my resignation. We talked about how to resign rather than whether I should resign or not, because I had already decided to quit. I told the prime minister that I actually should have resigned earlier, but that it had not been a good time to do so because of the opposition's threat to me. I resigned for reasons of my own and not because of the opposition's threat.

[Question] Talking about the matter of the royal pardon a bit more--what do you think the situation will be after the royal pardon is granted? Will people still oppose you? Will the opposition be satisfied?

[Answer] The opposition is a separate issue; the opposition always opposes the government and never agrees with it. That is the opposition. But in the case of the senators who are not in the opposition, they are the middlemen, especially the officers of the Royal Guard. I must pay attention to them. When I talked to them and made them understand, I felt better and believed that other groups would understand and stop agitating. One group of hardliners, however, will not desist.

[Question] Turning to the political party--what is the disagreement in the party that is so serious that the party chief has to clear it up?

[Answer] It will solve itself in the way of the party. It's a family problem I admit it happened, but it is a family problem which will be solved in accordance with the rules and regulations of the party.

[Question] Have you talked to Mr Pichai about this at all?

[Answer] During this period, I have not talked to (the party leader), I had to wait awhile, especially because I am involved in my own case.

[Question] Concerning your 2 million baht donation to the party, there are questions about where a minister who is the son of a farmer, like you, can get 2 million baht.

[Answer] Questions concerning a 2 million baht donation or a 1 million baht donation by others to the party come from people who look at things differently. In fact, political parties exist because of people. If there are no donations, parties cannot exist. When the Democrat Party revealed their figures to the public, it was good. That is one point of view. A pessimistic point of view also exists. It depends on how people look at it. Concerning public criticism about the money, as party secretary, I can say the figures are not accurate, there are some discrepancies. We have to spend some more time to get accurate figures.

The second point I want to discuss is that we must admit that there are some donors who do not want to be known; we must have the politcal manners to protect their anonymity. It is rude and improper to reveal the names of those who want to remain anonymous; if their anonymity is violated, these people will not donate in the future and the party will be in trouble. The party exists because of people. Concerning disclosure of my 2 million baht donation, if the critic will take an optimist's view, there should not be a problem I am party secretary, a duty of both the party secretary and the party leader is to acquire funds for elections. Therefore, when either the party leader or the party secretary gets money to support the party, it does not mean that they are rich, it means that they are doing their jobs. These are my principles. As to where I got 2 million baht, I received donations from party supporters. People in the party were aware of this, those people who donated are now in the party. When they donated, they did not want their names revealed, therefore, they donated through the party secretary. The party secretary then gave the donations to the party. That's all. There are pessimists who think that I became rich because of my position in the government. I do not deny that there are pessimists who look at things negatively. Now, I want to say that I will find more money from personal resources and elsewhere for the party in the future; if I cannot do that, I should not be party secretary. It is important that this be revealed to the administrative committee of the party. When such matters can be disclosed to the public, they should be; when they cannot, they should be party secrets. But this does not mean that things are so secret that nobody in the party knows about them. In a political party, there is nothing that is so secret that party members should not know, but there are things that outsiders should not know. I have disclosed information to the party administrative committee which means that at least 40 people know. I want people, now, to have a new perspective on what is right and wrong. All I have revealed are open matters which should not be damaging, these things are handled the same way all over the world. Do not be pessimistic and look at people in one way.

[Question] How much did the party spend for the last campaign?

[Answer] I would like to talk about this at some time in the future because the government was being formed after the election, I got involved in my case, and there was no committee meeting. Any figure I give now may be incorrect.

Length of Investigation

Bangkok DAO SIAM in Thai 17 Sep 86 pp 1, 2, 16

[Excerpt] Questioning of important witnesses including high-ranking military officers and the undersecretary of the interior expected to take a year.

DAO SIAM reported Mr Wira Musikapong committed lese majeste which was big news and resulted in his resignation. At the same time, the Office of the Public Prosecutor postponed announcing its investigation results for a month because the results were flimsy. They sent the crucial points to the investigative staff which is to question 26 more witnesses, of which the majority are high-ranking military officers including senators, village scouts, and Red Gaurs so that the investigation will be more air-tight. As we reported, legal experts opine that the case would be stronger with more witnesses.

Further reporting on this case revealed that "the investigative staff sent the case, for which they had already questioned the defendant and other witnesses concerning Mr Wira Musikapong's commission of lese majeste, to the Office of the Public Prosecutor for processing. The case was found to be too weak, especially because the witnesses the police questioned included female salad vendors. Additionally, there were not enough witnesses for a case as big as this. Therefore, the Office of the Public Prosecutor had to send the case to the police who are to question another 26 witnesses, including trustworthy individuals of many social strata, to make this case air-tight."

The source said "among the additional witnesses, besides the high-ranking military officers reported in other newspapers, there are civil servants and high-ranking police officers. The aforementioned include Mr Phisan Mulasaadsathorn, undersecretary of the interior and Police General Narong Mahanond, director general of police. The questioning of the undersecretary of the interior is because of his knowledge of this affair. A letter had been sent to the speaker of the Parliament requesting that Parliament ask Mr Wira Musikapong to respond to the charge. An investigation of the charge was necessary. The director general of police also will be questioned because he is the chief of the investigative staff, and the one who signed the investigation report saying that the 'case has merit' and sent it to the Office of the Public Prosecutor for processing."

Because the Office of the Public Prosecutor had returned the case to the police to question 26 more witnesses, a high-ranking police officer told the DAO SIAM reporter that "this increased the investigative staff's workload and required a larger staff because the questioning of high-ranking military officers, police, and civil servants requires the inclusion of high-ranking police officers on the investigative staff. Work had been assigned so that the questioning of the 26 witnesses would be completed by the 8 October deadline. The staff, therefore, is exhausted." The source repeated that the staff is exhausted.

A legal expert (anonymous) told our reporter that the Office of the Public Prosecutor's action in postponing announcement of the results and sending the case back for questioning of an additional 26 witnesses was the right thing to do because a case as big and important as this one should not be hurriedly closed because this could lead to missing important points. The more time taken, the stronger the evidence. In conclusion, if there are no problems, I think this case will take a year or less, said the legal expert.

List of Possible Witnesses

Bangkok DAO SIAM in Thai 16 Sep 86 pp 1, 16

[Excerpt] Mr Wira Musikapong gave the speech, in which he committed lese majeste, to help the campaigns of his party members in Buriram Province. Many newspapers reported it; this resulted in unrest among some military senators who made a motion to investigate the matter. Finally, Mr Wira Musikapong had to speak with them to clear up the affair and ask for a royal pardon before a portrait of the king.

Our reporter received information in the Office of the Public Prosecutor that "the Office of the Public Prosecutor had scheduled a preliminary hearing with Mr Wira Musikapong for the 19th of this month, but the investigation is not complete because the Office of the Public Prosecutor had returned the case to the police for the questioning of 26 more witnesses since the case the police had forwarded lacked testimony from important witnesses and evidence. The special prosecutorial committee felt that there were not enough witnesses and evidence, therefore, they returned the case to the police for further investigation as mentioned earlier. The submission of the case has also been postponed by a month."

The 26 additional witnesses the Office of the Public Prosecutor named includes high-ranking military officers, for example, Gen Arthit Kamlang-ek, former supreme commander who is now in the United States, Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, Gen Pichit Kunlawanit, Gen Sunthorn Kongsompong, and also senators who made the motion, some politicians, Village Scouts from some districts, and Red Gaurs who oppose lese majeste. They will be contacted to answer questions. It will take quite some time to get their testimony because they are widely dispersed, and the dignitaries especially will have to be scheduled at their convenience. All in all, strong evidence must be gathered to be fair to every party.

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NEW CABINET APPOINTEES VIEW POSITIONS, BACKGROUNDS

Bangkok SIAM RAT SAPDA WICHAN in Thai 28 Sep - 5 Oct 86 pp 12-15

[Excerpts] Suthep Thueksuban
Deputy Minister of Agriculture

I am happy that I can take this opportunity to serve the people. However, I really am not that excited to be a minister, because as a politician, I know one day I will be a minister.

I am used to working for such a long time. Since I was an MP, I served as secretary to the ministers of commerce, agriculture, and of the prime minister's office. "I know the minister role, I do not have to practice."

I am very much interested in agricultural issues and am the one that pushed agricultural development policy of the Democrat Party. I also have always studied agricultural issues since I was secretary to the ministers of agriculture, commerce, and of the prime minister's office. When I was at the prime minister's office, I used to travel abroad a lot and had a chance to observe the agricultural systems of different countries.

My first day as deputy minister, I do not have to study my responsibilities because I have always observed and studied the work of the ministry. I myself also am a farmer.

Our generation is the one with the will to work hard to serve both the country and people. We must be brave and dare to do things that nobody else dares to do. However, Thailand is such a frightful place. If they do not like you, then you are dead. I am modest and am very careful about this. Yet I have been elected by the people, with responsibilities to serve them, I can stay as long as I want. "For me, I would be more than happy if my agricultural council project is a success."

There are no problems as far as the civil servants are concerned since everybody knows each other's capabilities. "They know that I am sincere and I am not here for my own self-interest. I myself have not done anything that they can look down on me for thus they are willing to cooperate."

Pramuan Saphawasu
Minister of Industry

As for industrial development policy, I think we should discuss those that are possible first. Our industries are facing different kinds of problems, however, my policy is that we will try to help those industries that have been around for many decades to survive. This is a very important issue. Some issues involve more than one department or ministry, for example the problems that the sugar industry is facing which everybody knows about.

In my opinion--and we will not go into details--I want the industries to have as few problems as possible. As for new industries, which--according to government policy will get help--we will expedite things like the industrial estates. These are the eastern seaboard [project] and the Industrial Estates of Thailand which exist nationwide. I have just been to a site in Nakorn Rachasima Province this past 19 September. There are also some projects that need to be done urgently. For example, the southern provinces also need industrial zones. We are going there soon to look at the sites.

As for the basic industries that have been developed recently, I am trying my best to help. I understand that we will be able to specify soon which industries will be launched and how. Also, to determine what the holdups are and why. We will accumulate all information and data to present to the economic ministers so that they will make a decision as to what should be done.

"In my opinion, the government policy as presented to the Parliament is clear in itself: we will have to create jobs and solve the problems of poverty."

My principle of working is that things should be done step-by-step. For each step, the departments or state enterprise involved must be aware of policy, so that we can proceed together with the plan. I will use department directors and the governors of the state enterprises to serve on a ccordinating committee that will meet every Friday so work will move faster. We must decrease the number of steps as much as possible.

However, everybody knows how government works. If, after a period of time, my program proves futile, we will then find a faster way. You have to understand that I will try to make it as convenient as possible for anybody applying to the Ministry for a permit. I have already made this a matter of policy for all the directors as well as officials.

"I say that we are ordered to work. Tiredness is shared by everybody. I can tell you that I will do my best and with no distraction. That does not mean that I will not cooperate with the private sector. In fact, I give a lot of importance to it because it works efficiently and fast. Whatever is beneficial to the country we will do...and we are doing that."

Lt Col Sanan Khachaonprasat
Deputy Minister, Communications

When I was in the military, I did my job of protecting the country. As an MP, a legislator, I intend to help the people as well as develop the country.

In the previous Parliament, I worked in many ways to help the people. Now that I am in the cabinet, there will be more changes.

I have been assigned by the communications minister to be in charge of all the administration of waterways. My responsibilities are the harbor department, the merchant marine, the port authority, the Thai navigation company, and the Unithai company. As far as the harbor department is concerned, at present, the Chao Praya River has now been dredged up to Nakorn Pathom Province. The dredging of the Nan River will reach Taphan Hin District, Phichit Province and will be used for transportation, is now completed to Nakhon Sawan Province. We are building a dock in Nakhon Sawan and are accepting bids for another dock at Taphan Hin. These waterways will greatly relieve the burden on land transportation.

Another project that will need to be done in the near future is to dredge the waterways which have become shallow. We also have received a lot of complaints from the people about this project. The harbor department itself has already made plans for the project and will continued until the project is completed.

The second project is the building of a deep-water port. The port in Bangkok has become very congested, with narrow and limited numbers of channels. The deep-water port project at Laem Chabang which has been shelved once will be brought back and will become a reality. The cabinet and the National Economic and Social Development Council [NESDB] have already approved the project. The port will prove to be very beneficial since it will support a lot of industries that will be created along the eastern seaboard. There will be coordination with the Railway Authority in the transportation of goods to Bangkok. Transportation will be more convenient, industry will benefit and the plan for developing the eastern seaboard will be realized.

As for the Thai navigation company that is now losing money, I have appointed a committee to study and help solve the problems. I am confident we will be able to solve the problems and bring the company back to profitability. "Sea transportation in Thailand costs approximately 60,000 million baht annually. If we are able to improve the Thai navigation company to be reliable and efficient, we will be able to make some profits."

I will bring progress and prosperity to the work I have been assigned. "We will not walk step-by-step, but we will jump" that is, we will be efficient and fast. "I promise you I will accomplish the work I have been assigned in the best and most efficient ways."

Suraphan Chinawat
Deputy Minister of Communications
(Thai Nation Party)

I am very happy that my party has confidence in my abilities, and also very happy that His Majesty the King has appointed me to this position.

I do not think it is because my turn has arrived. Our party tries to select people from so many different sectors because they want those selected to be good administrators--not only to just run things, but also to take into account the skills, background, interests, and expertise of the person selected.

I am content with the responsibilities I have been assigned. I have been working in this ministry for over 10 years, and know people. I was an assistant secretary of the ministry in 1980. I know quite a few of the civil servants fairly well. They are quite happy that I have been elected to serve as the deputy minister, because I am straightforward and fair to everybody. To get along well with ministry officials is also the goal of the party. After working here for 30 or 40 years, these officials will tell us if we do anything wrong. If I ask, they will tell us what we need to do.

I have been an MP continuously since B.E. 2519 1976, this is in fact my fourth term. Personally, I may be fairly well-off, but the thought of buying this position has never occurred to me. We do not do this in the party. The party takes into account the industrial and his or her suitability.

My goals in my areas of responsibility concern everybody in Bangkok, that is, to oversee the BMTA [Bangkok Metropolitan Transit Authority]. We are trying every possible method to make BMTA stand on its own. I am giving myself 3 years to accomplish this goal--even though I might not be here in 3 years. My plan is that within 3 years, the BMTA will be able to support itself, and with no deficits.

It is true that I am from Chiang Mai. However, I went to school in Bangkok since childhood and used to catch the buses back and forth. Even though I have not been on the bus for years, I have always observed its operations. My children also go to school by bus, so I know what kinds of problems the children are facing. I think I have substantial amount of information and data to work from.

I am preparing a final solution to the bus problems. They would include free rides for the whole bus, while for some other buses, there will not be any free rides at all. You have to understand that we will need to have a reliable record that are plausible figures. For example, we may have 10 or 20 new buses out, one of these will have no free passes at all. To compensate for this, another bus will have all free rides. This project should be started after my sixth month here.

Sombun Chiramakon
Deputy Minister, Industry Ministry (Democrat)

I am so greatful to have been appointed by His Majesty the King to this position. I will try to do the best I can to be of service to the people.

In fact, all MP's have the same wish and will try to get results for his own party as well as for the people. As a result, I have been voted on by the Democrat Party and my name proposed to the prime minister for this job.

My opinion of the job given me is that the Industrial Promotion Department can help create lots of jobs for people in rural areas. I think this corresponds to the Democrat Party's promise which is to create jobs for rural people. However, there are some flaws in the procedures outlined by the government. There are no incentives to facilitate things for investors. Now that I hold the position, I will try to eliminate the problems as well as to narrow the wide gap between the government and the investors. As for the issue of funding, we have financial institutions that serve as small-scale industrial financial support institutions. We also have a finance corporation with its industrial development fund to help with collateral for those who do not have enough money to invest.

With respect to the issue of political suitability in terms of length of time in politics. I am not really sure. I think it all depends on the opinions of these entitled to vote in the party. Some are new to the party yet they are in the cabinet.

As for myself, I think that all I have done will prove that the time is right for me to run a ministry. In terms of seniority, only Khun Anong and I rank below Mr Khunthong (Phupiewduan).

From MP to minister, there is one difference. Those younger than I now address me as "sir" which makes me very uncomfortable. In my mind, I am still an MP. Don't forget that cabinet ministers come from MPs and we come from the people. I really do not want any changes. As for the people, I am happy to have been chosen be it only as deputy minister.

My social status still remains the same. Nothing has changed. I still live in the same old house. The only thing that will change is my office which I am going to renovate so that it will be comfortable for those who come to visit.

The goal of any politician is an administrative position. I do not think that it is always true. My work is in legislation. However, the constitution provides that an MP can become an administrator. Therefore the MP has to improve itself and be well-prepared as well as keep himself abreast of every issue.

I have not yet reported my assets. I do not have much--one house and 3-4 plots of land--the deeds of which are sometimes at the police station and some other times at the court. I use these as bail for people. When they are in trouble, MPs have to help them...that is why my deeds are here one day, and are there another day. (laughs)

It's a normal situation that when they are in trouble, we have to help them. We begged them when we want their votes, therefore we have to help them as much as we can when they are in trouble.

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PRINCE SENIORITY FOR PROMOTION, LACK OF SCHOOLING NOTED

Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 23 Oct 86 pp 25, 26

[Unattributed report: "The Crown Prince Is Among Those Being Considered for Promotion to 'Deputy Divisional Commander'"]

[Text] In this year's reshuffle of deputy divisional commanders, which will take place around the middle of October, special attention has been focused on the position of deputy commander of the 1st King's Guard Division. This is because the Crown Prince, who serves as the commander of the King's Guard Mahat Lek Regiment, which is directly subordinate to the 1st King's Guard Division, is among those being considered for promotion to "deputy divisional commander."

According to Regulations

A report from senior military circles stated that the name of the Crown Prince appears on the list of regimental and battalion commanders who are being considered for promotion or for transfer from the command to the staff line or vice versa. The report stated that the name "Special Colonel Wachiralongkon Mahidol" is among the names at the top of the list for promotion to a higher position. That is, he is about 35th on the list in terms of seniority, which qualifies him for promotion. Soldiers refer to this as the "drop point" and level at which you "won't fall off the list." But whether he will be promoted to deputy commander of the 1st Division is something that will be decided by senior army commanders. This matter is being handled in accord with army regulations. The Crown Prince is not being shown any special consideration. Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, the RTA CINC, has said that in his capacity as an army officer, the Crown Prince is treated just like other officiers.

Not a "Qualification"

A report stated that the Crown Prince was to have attended the Army War College this year. But he decided not to attend, citing various reasons. There have been reports that he will attend the Army War College with the next class, which is scheduled to begin classes at the end of October, and that he will be made a deputy divisional commander after he completes this course. Several senior military officers have told LAK THAI that it is not a hard and fast rule that a person must have attended the Army War College before being appointed deputy head of a directorate or deputy commander of a division. Attending the Army War College is a matter of timing and depends on the time of each officer. Some officers are already deputy divisional commanders when they attend this college. Others attend the college when they are a regimental commander or deputy chief of staff or chief of staff of a division. And some officers who hold senior positions in the army never attended the Army War College, because they just did not have the time when they were at that level. After reaching high rank and holding high position, they decided not to attend the college. Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut and Gen Sunthon Khongsomphong did not attend the National Defense College. And most likely they never will, because they are already "too senior."

In the Stream To "Advance"

The senior commanders of regiments directly subordinate to the 1st King's Guard Division are the Crown Prince, the commander of the King's Guard Mahatlek Regiment, Special Col Wattana Bunyasit, the commander of the 31st King's Guard Regiment, and Special Col Amphon Sawetserani, the commander of the 11th King's Guard Regiment. A report stated that Special Col Wattana will be appointed deputy commander of the 2d Infantry Division. Thus, those in line for the position of deputy commander of the 1st King's Guard Division are the Crown Prince and Special Col Amphon Sawetserani.

The position of deputy commander of the 1st King's Guard Division is vacant following the transfer of Maj Gen Montri Thipwathi, the former deputy commander, to the position of deputy adjutant general, Supreme Command Headquarters. At present, the only deputy commander of this division is Special Col Banthit Malai-arisun. He is the first deputy commander. Special Col Banthit was not promoted to general this year even though "Montri," the second deputy commander, was promoted and transferred to the Adjutant General Department. That should have been Special Col Banthit. But by waiting just 1 more year, he will have a chance to be promoted to major general and appointed commander of the 1st King's Guard Division in place of Maj Gen San Siphen, the present commander who was transferred from his position as commander of the 2d Infantry Division. Next year, Maj Gen San will definitely be promoted to deputy army region commander because of his seniority. Special Col Banthit was probably left in his present position in order to wait for promotion to commander of the 1st King's Guard Division next year.

No Transfer yet for "Phi Ling"

A military news source said that Special Col Banthit Malai-arisun's name is not on the promotion list. Even though several other deputy divisional commanders at the same level have been transferred, "Phi Ling," Special Col Banthit, will probably remain in his position as first deputy commander of the 1st King's Guard Division. The new deputy commander will be the second deputy commander.

"If the Crown Prince is appointed deputy commander, he will probably serve as second deputy commander. He would not be in direct command of a unit. He would be in an administrative position, which is different from his present position as a regimental commander," said a news source. "However, this is up to senior commanders. Officers in general would be happy to see the Crown Prince promoted and given greater responsibilities in the army."

First Division Goes to Battle

This year, the 9th Infantry Division will withdraw from the Cambodian border and be replaced by the 1st King's Guard Infantry Division. The transfer of responsibility is underway now. A high-level army news source said that if the Crown Prince is appointed deputy commander of the 1st King's Guard Division, he will play a major role in commanding units of the 1st King's Guard Division stationed along the border.

"This is the right time if he is promoted, because the 1st Division is being sent into action this year. After that, it won't be sent out again for another 2 years, because the 1st, 2d, and 9th divisions are rotated every year," said the news source. He added that the presence of the Crown Prince would greatly lift the morale of the 1st Division soldiers on duty there this year

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EX-3D ARMY GENERAL ON ARMY SIZE, CROWN PRINCE, POLITICS

Bangkol SU ANAKHOT in Thai 24-30 Sep 86 pp 16-19

[Interview with Lt Gen Ruamsak Chaikomin, ex-3d Army General, interviewer not identified; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] [Question] What is your opinion about the role of the military concerning politics?

[Answer] I think that if we study the problem, that since the changes in administration when the military had a large role in politics--such as controlling various ministries like Industry and Communications in the eras of Marshal Sarit as well as Marshal Thanom--that right now there in nothing like that. The time when we could adjust things fully or even halfway absolutely is past. We can say that the military has no direct role in politics, none whatsoever, that it is not involved directly with politics. There are no more active duty military working in various ministries, especially during the Prem government. We should be happy that the military is not involved with politics any more.

[Question] Meaning only professional military men?

[Answer] Yes, professional soldiers. What I said covers the past 6-7 years, since General Kriangsak's government.

[Question] What is the role of prodessional soldiers in Thai politics?

[Answer] The duty of the military is to train and strengthen soldiers to be disciplined, to train them to use weapons and strategy cleverly and proficiently, so that soldiers have the highest capability and initiative in combat. Those are the principles and methods that professional soldiers must follow.

The next point is that professional soldiers must seek knowledge--it might be research through reference books--then employ it to educate and train and support our armed forces, the soldiers themselves and weaponry. We must actively study which imported weapons are useful. Right now our armed forces are inferior. Even though we are in a time of peace, we must remember to buy many weapons to modernize our weaponry. When we want to purchase them, everyone gets uptight. Singapore has more than we do, yes, sir. We have to purchase them to develop our armed forces, likewise to develop the country. We all agree that the armed forces are the ones who protect our independence, that they have the duty to defend the country. Now to defend it, they must have equipment, have good weapons; otherwise, how can we be any good? Men must be trained, we must try hard to get weapons, and we can recondition those we have. We must modify a lot of weapons in our forces. If we purchase or import them, it will cost as much as 10,000 baht, but if we modify them ourselves, it will cost only 4-5,000 baht; we must do that, professional soldiers must do that.

[Question] Many people feel that our country is poor, that we should not spend so much money on arms purchases.

[Answer] That is not so. Frankly, actually we don't have enough soldiers--even not talking about invading other countries, but only about protecting ourselves to survive, that's all. To really have enough, we must have many dozens of divisions so that we can confront or attack the enemy fully. We must have weapons to do this. The technology in weaponry is advancing greatly. But since we cannot buy everything, we must buy weapons, bit by bit. Weaponry is very important. In the future, there will be a lot of electronic systems, which will decide battles very quickly indeed. It is the duty of the army, the navy and the air force to upgrade our weaponry, but we must not knock ourselves out doing it; rather, we must do it gradually. General Chavalit understands this now, and knows how to improve the army, namely, to use fewer men but use them efficiently and use more weaponry.

[Question] What are the policies for developing personnel in the armed forces?

[Answer] I think that men are very important. The crown prince has said that men are the important weapons, that when men sleep, then the weapons sleep. I really admire this brilliant statement. The truth is that we must train our people to make them understand about themselves, such as small weapons units must understand their own guns and how to shoot them, so that when something goes wrong with them, they know what they must do. We must train them this way. They must be trained for mobilization or sudden actions. The important thing is to develop the people. Starting with privates, they must know how to patrol and ambush, know all these things. Concerning morale, it is very important that they be enthusiastic, that they must want to be trained. And in addition, they must be taught history and unity. The lessons for soldiers are a love of sacrifice and of unity. These will improve soldiers and develop efficiency in them and in using weapons. Soldiers must be knowledgeable about weaponry and fighting, namely, respond immediately to orders, know what they must do as soon as they set up their guns. Professional soldiers must do things like this.

[Question] How do you perceive this government?

[Answer] I think it is good but some people criticize it because the prime minister was not elected. But the constitution specifies that an outsider can be prime minister, so we have to do it. Various parties selected him, so there should not be anything wrong. I think it is good. If it was not stated that way and those parties had come and asked him to be the prime minister, that surely would not have been proper and in accord with the constitution. I have heard that the majority of the general public agrees with this government; it is normal that some don't agree.

[Question] How much do you think this government will be able to push its policies for running the country?

[Answer] Eh... policies have many factors. If we listen to other countries' opinions too much, we will not reach our goals. I think that we have been better off from the point of view of security, not only under General Prem's government, but during the time that he has been prime minister. First, are the armed forces fully armed? This is very important, a life and death question, which we must look at not merely with a view to improving, but as persons who love democracy. Then there is the problem of not solving the rice issue, which causes hardship and poverty. I know that we ourselves cannot control these agricultural, trade and commerce problems. Unlike before--during the world war--other countries had to buy rice from us; now the market is competitive. Four or 5 years ago, Indonesia bought rice from us. We must plan in advance for agriculture and trade because the whole world is producing to feed itself and sell the surpluses; their techniques have improved. The whole world is trying to build dams which are important factors in agriculture, just as we are doing ourselves every day. The whole world is trying to be self-sufficient. In the future we must have goals for our agriculture as well as industry, but we cannot predict whether those goals can be reached.

[Question] What is your opinion about the considerable amount of money spent during the last election?

[Answer] A lot of money was spent. I announced my neutrality on TV and the army commander-in-chief was happy. First, I said that I would retire in October and I have. I will run in the Arril 1987 election, for sure. And the people of my district in Kanchanaburi are also pleased. When Parliament was dissolved in February, I studied the situation and I saw that a lot of money really had to be spent. Looking ahead, I see that if there are people willing to spend a lot of money like this, then they can certainly buy our country. But is that true, looking at it from only one angle? So I looked at it from two viewpoints. On one hand, some village people are so poor they must take the first 100 or 200 baht to survive their hunger. Inciting nonexistent voters to vote for them is difficult; the opposition groups would not dare to do it. I think there are many provinces where there is no money involved, where there is genuine voting, where there are supporters. There is money involved, but it is used for parties, not to obligate people to vote for them; there are a lot of these provinces. There are others hungry for money; if they don't get it, they don't vote. This is true. Take a look for yourself at these country people; you will see they don't even have the bus fare to go to vote.

This is a continuing problem that I don't feel good about, that I'm worried about.

[Question] You said that you are going to run in the election; what will your party affiliation be?

[Answer] Many parties came and courted me before the election, before my retirement. The Chart Thai Party has courted me for a long time, the Democratic Party has come and courted me, too. Brother Harn has come to me, Pracharn, 3 parties have come. I looked over each party and liked the Chart Thai Party the most. I consider the angle that we were soldiers together, and I feel comfortable to show my respect to the head of the party. And the party's policy is good.

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NEW ANTI-CPM PROPOSAL NOTED, THREAT CONTINUES

Bangkok NAEO NA in Thai 28 Sep 86 pp 1, 3

[Article: "Prem Approves Building Villages Throughout South To Reduce Communist Terrorist Influence"]

[Text] Maj Gen Kitti Rattanachaya, 5th Division commander and commander of the Thai-Malaysian Special Task Force, stated his opinion to NAEO NA concerning the defeat of Chinese communist bandits. He said that his division in combination with the Thai-Malaysian Special Task Force thinks that there must be definite plans to suppress the CPM [Communist Party of Malaya] and that security for the lives and wealth of the people throughout the area is an important matter. He said that it is difficult to protect and maintain security for the people as they are geographically scattered and make their living on rubber plantations. Consequently, when we pull out our troops, the CPM intrudes, threatens the people and asks for protection money.

His idea is to gather the people into village developments funded by government or private sector investment.

The government would guarantee long-term leases or mortgages so that it would head up the project; this would make it a national one, not a regional one. Another purpose is to separate the people from the CPM, so that the military can be used to suppress the CPM. This idea has been implemented on a small scale, and, therefore, it has failed. If approved, the original plan will be implemented all along the border starting in Betong District in Yala Province.

Major General Kitti stated that he had come up with this idea for solving the problem based on his experience in government service in the southern region along with studying the British military's successful methods for fighting the CPM in Malaysia--the Brigg Plan--which he had adapted to the current situation in Thailand.

The 5th Division commander stated that he had briefed the prime minister on his idea when the prime minister visited the Thai-Malaysian Border Committee around the middle of August. The prime minister liked it and offered to guide its implementation. The budget has not yet been discussed because the proposal is just an idea, not a plan. According to official procedures, his idea must be presented to a meeting of the Security Council, then to the cabinet before it can become policy.

"Up to now the CPM has been losing militarily, but we still have not won a clearcut victory. The old ideas for solving this problem have not been successful during the past 40 years. The CPM still has around 1,800-2,000 remaining troops along the border. With this idea, we will defeat the CPM in 5-7 years," Major General Kitti stated.

A news report from the 4th Region Army disclosed that two CPM groups are currently active along the Thai-Malaysian border. One is a Communist Party of Malaya grouping, which has the 10th and 12th CPM Regiments along with a coalition force and special regional force; together, they have around 800-900 men. The second is a Communist Party of Malaysia grouping, which has the 8th CPM Regiment and 2nd CPM Regiment (Marxist-Leninist); together, they have 600-700 men. Both groups are active along the Thai-Malaysian border in the Satun, Songkhla, Yala and Narathiwat areas.

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EDITORIAL FAULTS PREM LEADERSHIP, VIEWS CHAWALIT WARNING

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 18 Oct 86 p 6

[Editorial: "There Is Rust on the Inside"]

[Excerpts] Even though the RTA CINC's warning to the government made it seem as if the RTA CINC if superior to the government, which made it seem as if there is a split between the army leader and the government, his warning hinted at the concern felt by many people about the government. If no answers are forthcoming concerning the important problems facing the government, it will be difficult to understand the connection between the RTA CINC and the government.

One of the problems facing the govenment today is the lack of unity and solidarity. This problem stems from two political factors. One is the behavior of the parties and politicians in the government. The other is the attitude of the prime minister toward the parties and politicians in the government.

As for the first factor, even though the conflict within the Democrat Party, which stems from dissatisfaction with the party leader, is growing worse, this is just an internal problem of the Democrat Party. Thus, the problem that has affected the stability of the govenment stems from the behavior of the parties and politicians, behavior that has resulted in MPs submitting a motion to hold a no-confidence debate.

If the prime minister lacks resolve in making decisions and refuses to take responsibility for the problems, there will be a loss of internal unity because of the dissatisfaction of certain parties in the government. This weakness will allow outside powers to interfere in the name of the opposition and in the name of "good intentions." This has already become a characteristic of the "Prem" administration even though this is a great embarrassment to several factions.

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EDITORIAL BLAMES COMMERCE MINISTRY FOR FALLING RICE PRICE

Bangkok SU ANAKHOT in Thai 24-30 Sep 86 p 2

[Article: "Rice at 700 Baht Per Wagon"]

[Text] At the beginning of 1986, when Mr Kosol Krairerk was the minister of commerce, he tried very hard to enable the farmers to sell rice for 2,500 - 3,000 baht per wagon. But they could sell it at only 2,200 baht or 2,300 baht, with the highest price at 2,500 baht.

Farmers in many provinces gathered in Bangkok in front of the Ministry of Commerce and Government House to pressure Mr Kosol to resign from his position as minister of commerce and they opened the way for Pol Capt Surat Othsathanukroh to replace him. All farmers hoped that when Pol Capt Surat Othsathanukroh became minister of commerce living conditions would definitely improve because at the very least, their harvests would certainly sell at better prices than when Mr Kosol Krairerk was minister of commerce.

The upshot is that rice prices for farmers during Pol Lt Surat Othsathanukroh's time have been only 1,800 per wagon and now there are reports that in some locales in Chachoengsao farmers can sell at only 700 baht per wagon. The proof of this matter are the pleas to the minister of commerce by Mr Chaturon Chaisaeng, one of the MP's who supports the government, and who holds a political position as assistant secretary to the minister of finance.

However, there have not been any direct protests or complaints from the farmers in trouble. Considering this, it might be that the farmers are not in any position to say anything, or they cannot make themselves heard or in other words, they all despair of any hope of depending on the government.

If the latter is true, then this is a very dangerous matter.

We hope that the government will bring up for discussion this problem of farmers not being able to sell rice at good prices before the opposition does, or not wait until the farmers get together and to protest and demand justice.

And we urge the minister of commerce to review his capabilities for improving the standard of living and rice prices. He should know that he became minister of commerce to solve this particular problem, but if he thinks that he is the minister of commerce in Prem 5 because of some connections, that is ok.

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THAILAND

BRIEFS

NO OBJECTION TO AMNESTY--NAEO NA asked Suchinda Khraprayoon, the Army chief of staff and president of Chulachomklao Officer Class 5, about stripping rank from Mr Manoon Rapkhachorn. Lieutenant General Suchinda stated that he did not know the facts, that he only knew about it through the newspapers and that he still did not know from where the order came. Reporters said that it had been announced in the ROYAL GAZETTE by Gen Prem Tinsulanon in response to his majesty's order. Lieutenant General Suchinda did not make any further remarks. When he was asked whether an amnesty was possible for the accused in the 9 October 1985 incident in light of the current stripping of rank from Gen Manoon Rupkhachorn who is now a civilian, Lieutenant General Suchinda replied that this was not the work of the Army. A reporter questioned further whether the Army would oppose it if an amnesty was really issued. Lieutenant General Suchinda replied that, "We don't have any problems, it is not our concern; it is a legal matter. Gen Chavalit Yongchaiyut, Army commander-in-cheif, previously expressed his opinion in the same way, that the Army would not oppose an amnesty for the accused involved in the 9 October 1985 revolt and pointed out that it was a legislative matter, not one for the Army. [Excerpt] [Bangkok NAEO NA in Thai 22 Sep 86 pp 1, 16] 12587/9190

AMNESTY FOR 9 SEP COUP PLOTTERS BACKED --Thai Nation Party MP's are preparing to submit a bill in parliament to grant amnesty to those who participated in the 9 September 1985 coup attempt. In an interview on 17 October, Air Chief Marshal Phaniang Kantarat, the minister of defense, said that granting amnesty to those involved also depends on the court. He supports granting amnesty, because it would put an end to the matter. Air Chief Marshal Phaniang said that granting amnesty to the "9 September" rebels would help restore unity among the people of the country. The reporter asked if anyone is worried about the possibility that granting amnesty in this case might encourage others to stage a coup. Because they wouldn't worry about being punished. The minister of defense said that those who consider staging a coup have to have reasons. He doesn't think that that will happen. [Excerpt] [Bangkok DAO SIAM in Thai 18 Oct 86 pp 1, 16] 11943

CSO: 4207/46

REPORT BY OVERSEAS VIETNAMESE ASSOCIATION IN FRG

Paris DOAN KET in Vietnamese Oct 86 pp 30-31

[Excerpts of report by the Preparatory Committee for the Special Congress of the Vietnamese Association in the FRG held in Frankfurt-am-Main on 13-14 September 1986: "Looking Toward the Fatherland"]

[Text] The report contains 12 pages and is divided into 4 parts. After asserting that "to contribute constructive views about our country" is a "political and sentimental requirement of the patriotic overseas Vietnamese movement" (Part I) and after "reviewing the situation in our country in the past 11 years and the efforts currently made to bring about changes in our country" (Part II, over four pages), the report devotes its principal part to seven "proposals about the prerequisites for an intensive and extensive innovative process." The last part is short (only one page) and deals with the "changes and improvement in the patriotic activities of the overseas Vietnamese movement." The following excerpts contain the main topics of the report. The subheads are given by DOAN KET.

Joining Forces and Hearts To Change the Situation

The Sixth Congress of the CPV will be held by the end of this year and will become an important political event in our country. The congress will take place at a time when the socioeconomic situation in Vietnam will still be undergoing a period full of difficulties and ordeals. Therefore, the need for the people to contribute their views to the party is a matter of concern for both sides--the party and the people. This contribution demonstrates the common concern and desire of everyone to join forces and hearts to change the situation.

For many years, the overseas Vietnamese have continuously watched the course of events in their own country and have, together with their compatriots, pondered over these problems. This state of mind stems from the overseas Vietnamese feelings of deep attachment to their native land and is also a reason for the existence and development of the patriotic movement among the Vietnamese living abroad. Ever since their country entered the constructive stage, the overseas Vietnamese have carried out activities to make a small contribution to national construction in many fields--scientific, educational, economic, political, and diplomatic.

To join compatriots of all walks of life in boldly contributing constructive views for the benefit of our country is to develop the good tradition of our movement. To do so is to act out of patriotism and under the inspiration of the sense of irrefutable responsibility of all Vietnamese citizens for the common cause, no matter whether they live at home or abroad.

Experiences gained in building the overseas Vietnamese movement have demonstrated that calling the overseas Vietnamese attention to the central problems of their country in each revolutionary stage is the best way to link them to their country and, at the same time, to consolidate and strengthen the unity and development of the movement. Because our entire nation is now strenuously pondering ways to overcome difficulties and ordeals, the overseas Vietnamese movement must not adopt an indifferent attitude proper to people living in peace and security. The situation in our country is strongly affecting the overseas Vietnamese minds. Taking the initiative to organize and motivate the overseas Vietnamese to contribute views about their country is also a wise move to dispel their worries, to strengthen the movement, and to prepare it for more realistic and effective activities and contributions.

Bureaucratic Centralism Is the Principal Cause of Difficulties

The situation in the past 11 years was marked by numerous successes, great efforts, and an immense desire to protect the revolutionary achievements and build the first bases for socialism but was simultaneously characterized by serious shortcomings and mistakes, such as impatience, hurry, bureaucracy, oppression of the masses, corruption, and other negative practices. These shortcomings and mistakes reduced and sometimes even nullified the effect of these great achievements.

We can divide this 11-year period into several stages as we acquire a more adequate understanding of the causes of this difficult and complex situation. Concerning the first stage, we must stress the objective causes which lay in the fact that our national construction started from a very low economic level coupled with great ravages of war and constant threat and sabotage by the enemy. Afterward, objective causes--such as incapability and bureaucracy--were noticed little by little and more clearly. At present, the situation has enhanced our awareness and enabled us to find out that it was precisely the former bureaucratic centralist system which aggravated the objective difficulties and, more dangerously, engendered bureaucratism and bureaucratic manners, and constituted a hotbed for the revival, development, and rampancy of many social evils and vestiges of feudalism and small-scale production. The slow discovery of this cause prolonged the equation of bureaucratic centralism with socialism, making it impossible to distinguish between the old and the new, and between the revolution and conservatism and sluggishness. This led to a dangerous situation where many persons who tried to preserve the old mechanism believed they were defending socialism.

To maintain the bureaucratic centralist mechanism is to restrain the production forces, to hamper social development, and to run the risk of weakening the revolutionary achievements and even attacking the revolution itself.

Difficulties and Opportunities for Innovations

a. Innovations have met and will meet with numerous difficulties and obstacles.

Innovations were made very slowly over the past 6 years. While the objective difficulties remain, the subjective ones will continue to have an influence in the future. Let us point out some difficulties which have hindered innovations:

--In the past half century, our country's revolution had to devote all its intellect to the national liberation war and could only spend very little time paying attention to socialist construction. Therefore, too much time is now required to achieve identity of views on many theoretical and practical issues. Time and conditions are also necessary to update the system of viewpoints in the thinking method before formulating any new system of policies.

--Because it was implemented too long in wartime, the old mechanism has deeply influenced the thinking pattern and working manner of our cadres and people and has become a social psychology. Today the inevitable consequence is that many persons are clinging to the old mechanism only to safeguard their own political and economic interests. This accounts for the strong and tenacious survival of the old mechanism.

--Ever since the revolution entered the new stage, many cadres have failed to shift the gears in time and have become incapable of assuming revolutionary tasks in the new phase. Some of them have even degenerated just because of the old mechanism. Therefore, these cadres lack the courage and ability to keep pace with quick changes in the situation.

--In managing and employing people, the society still displays many apprehensions as well as narrow-mindedness. Socioeconomic development is uneven among various localities. Both parochialism and sectionalism are obstacles to innovative undertaking and, worse still, have sometimes complicated the struggle between the old and the new.

b. Conditions are favorable for innovations.

--Since the bureaucratic centralist mechanism has shown its weaknesses ever more clearly, one can see immediately the harm done by it to production, to the solution of problems relating to the people's subsistence, to the development of human dignity, and to social life.

--Bringing about changes in our country has become an urgent requirement of the situation and an earnest request by our people. Our party and state have paid attention to the need for innovations and gradually pointed out this problem.

--Ever more achievements have been registered owing to the bold innovative spirit shown by production installations, economic units, and even among literary and artistic circles. These achievements have turned out to be splendid and highly persuasive models to speed up the confirmation of novelties. A broadminded and dynamic social psychology is growing up and gradually repelling the conservative and sluggish psychology in society. The tossing and turning of today are foreboding wholesome changes for tomorrow.

--The question of updating the socioeconomic management apparatus is also being enthusiastically raised in the socialist countries. The recent congresses of many communist parties have confirmed their determination to effect changes. In the race against the capitalist countries, the socialist ones need to modernize their industry quickly, to make their societies more dynamic, and to increase labor productivity rapidly. To update the socioeconomic apparatus has thus become a pressing task.

People Pacification Policy

A valuable experience handed down by our forefathers who rebuilt their country after each protracted national liberation war is the necessity for a policy designed to bring peace and security to the people.

Though Vietnam is now in the 11th year of the postwar period, the aftermath of several decades of war has not been completely overcome. Moreover, certain socioeconomic policies which have been either carried out impatiently and hurriedly or marred by shortcomings and mistakes have led to social instability, made the people's lives difficult, failed to appease their minds, and eroded their confidence.

For these reasons, in building socialism at the present time, it is necessary to pay social attention to policies aimed at pacifying the people and creating a "deep-rooted" position in order to build a firm foundation for future steps forward. In our opinion, such policies must contain the following points:

--The people's lives must be well cared for and stabilized. In making all large expenditures for society and contemplating all major investments, consideration must be given to promoting the people's strength.

--Caution must be exercised in promulgating and changing policies, especially those directly related to the life of the people so that they may have peace of mind and make long-term plans for themselves and their families. Policies that disagree with the people's aspirations or are contrary to laws must be resolutely amended or abrogated.

--It is necessary to employ talented persons in important functions, to abolish quickly all forms of discrimination, and to create conditions for everyone to be used and trusted, to develop their abilities, and to improve their lives. In particular, people in the southern provinces must be made to understand that the future of their children will be guaranteed.

--Severe punishments must be meted out to deviant and negative elements, especially those who take advantage of their power to oppress the people. Opportunists and toadies must be firmly eliminated.

--Excessive inconveniences that are sometimes created in controlling the travel, residence, and livelihood of the people must be reduced.

--There still are numerous difficulties in providing jobs to citizens. If it appears that the household and individual economic sectors can create more jobs, and if it has been possible to confirm that these economic sectors will be long-lived traveling companions of socialism (after studying experiences in other socialist countries), it is advisable to skip over the experimental stage and quickly to promulgate and apply clear-cut policies on a nationwide scale to ease the minds of citizens who carry out activities in these economic sectors.

--For a long time to come, people will continue to ask permission to go abroad to join their families. At present, there still are instances when these people have to wait too long pending examination of their applications for exit permits and pending departure after the issuance of these permits. This state of affairs has upset the minds and lives of a number of people. We suggest that this problem be resolved in a really clear-cut and explicit manner so that the outgoing people will continue to feel attached to their homeland while those who stay behind may have peace of mind to organize their lives for the distant future.

Role of Public Opinion

Any dynamic mechanism capable of adapting itself to changes and adjusting itself must absolutely include a reactive organ. If we consider the society to be a machinery, the party and government to be the leading centers, and the state and economic apparatuses to be the functional organs, then we must have public and social opinions to play the responsive role.

To enable public opinion to play its role properly, it is most important to ensure that all social activities are carried out openly, that all citizens can exercise their right of ownership of information as well as their right to express their views on political and social issues, and that all mass media--such as the press, radio stations, conferences, and forums--exactly reflect the truth and act as an instrument of public opinion.

Over the recent past, the contribution of views to the party congress, the launching of a criticism and self-criticism drive, the open handling and solution of cases of negative practices, and especially the changes effected by the national assembly, mass organizations, and some newspapers have infused a more open and wholesome atmosphere into society. We consider these developments as the first steps toward building a dynamic social management apparatus.

Changes Among the Personnel

The present state of the corps of party and state cadres has been mentioned by Mr Le Duc Tho in the article entitled "Urgent Tasks Required By Party Building" (TAP CHI CONG SAN, May 1986). Apart from cadres who have a sense of responsibility, who are capable, and who have demonstrated their revolutionary qualifications in difficult and complex situations, there are many others who have grown old, become incapable, or been degraded by the bureaucratic centralist system.

The need to rejuvenate and update the corps of cadres has been mentioned. Of course, this task cannot be done overnight but must be started with determination because the cadres affairs are the key factor which determines all successes or failures of the implemented lines and policies. We welcome Mr Le Duc Tho's assertion that "it is necessary to advance toward the standardization of cadres by fixing the age limit and office tenure of each category of cadre and by fixing the age at which they must be replaced."

To improve the cadres' abilities and ethics, it is certain that one must neither rely merely on their formation on school benches, on ideological education and propaganda, and on moral exhortations nor expect self-enlightenment and voluntarism from these cadres but must see that they are trained through struggle and amid practical activities. In view of the present situation, the clear delimitation between revolution and conservatism and sluggishness, the innovation of the socioeconomic and personnel management mechanism, and the updating of the cadre policy with the aim of accustoming cadres to carrying out activities under enlarged democracy conditions are all tasks having the strong effect of improving the cadres' abilities and ethics.

Rational Policy Toward Overseas Vietnamese

The overseas Vietnamese community, which is the milieu for, and object of the activities of all patriotic overseas Vietnamese movements, is raising a series of new and no less complex problems. To become fully aware of the characteristics and laws of development of this community, one must have a rich practical experience and make serious research to ensure that the policies to be formulated have a truly scientific and realistic basis and are suitable.

--Sudden changes in the numerical strength and nature of the overseas Vietnamese community after 1975 call for a revision of our usual evaluation of Vietnamese citizens living abroad. Taking into account only the sentimental aspect of the relationships between the overseas Vietnamese and their native country would be too simplistic while evaluating these relationships only from the political point of view would lead to narrow-mindedness and prejudices. A peculiarity of the overseas Vietnamese is their need to deal simultaneously with two kinds of relationships--with their motherland and with the country of permanent residence. This problem has become increasingly complex for the second and third generations [of overseas Vietnamese]. For this reason, the time has come for the overseas Vietnamese community, which is composed of more than 1 million Vietnamese living abroad, to become the object of study by coordinated conferences to be held both at home and abroad.

Proselytization of the large overseas Vietnamese community is the direct duty of patriotic overseas Vietnamese movements. However, because we already have a centralized and uniform government--which constitutes a great opportunity--and because the overseas Vietnamese relationships with their country have become more varied and numerous, the effect of major state policies concerning this community will play a highly important and even decisive role. We suggest that the function and competence of the Overseas Vietnamese Department be strengthened to draft such policies, that a suitable apparatus be formed to enable overseas Vietnamese associations to participate in formulating these policies, and that the dissemination and implementation of policies be well organized so that policies that no longer prove suitable may be amended or repealed, and new ones be promulgated.

--Because the policies now in force apply to overseas Vietnamese everywhere, we propose that all overseas Vietnamese associations soon issue a common motion on policies relating to overseas Vietnamese.

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NEED TO ELIMINATE FEUDAL THINKING, BEHAVIOR DISCUSSED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 5 Sep 86 p 1

[Opinions To Contribute to Party Congress column by Long Thai, Truong Cong Dinh Street, Tan An City, Long An Province: "Must Identify 'Remnants'"]

[Text] Through daily life and public forums, I have observed that feudal thinking, behavior, and philosophy of life are still special characteristics among a number of cadres, party members, and people. Previous party congresses have given varying degrees of attention to this. Thus, this party congress must speak out clearly and take stronger steps to overcome this.

As we know, feudal thinking and feudalism existed for a long time. Our system was born out of feudalism. Today, even though it is said that only "traces" remain, they are deeply ingrained in the lives of people. And these things affect all spheres. In particular, they oppose the new thinking concerning economic and social development. The Fourth Congress talked about "thoroughly eliminating the remnants of feudal exploitation." But the focus was on southern Vietnam, and only "opposing the remnants of feudal thinking" was mentioned (Political Report of the Fourth Party Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, pp 108, 114). I think feudal influences are present throughout the country. We should not forget that our country was a feudal country for several thousand years. Also, Chinese domination lasted for almost 1,000 years. To the north were the Chinese feudalists. In 1985 in Hanoi, there was the famous case of an engineer practicing exorcism. Just recently, NHAN DAN printed an article about an enterprise director in Hai Hung who was guilty of "nepotism." This case caused an uproar. At the fourth and fifth party congresses, we did not adequately expose our "feudal opponents." Perhaps this was because they were viewed as being just "remnants" even though their crimes were quite clear. The political reports of the third and fourth congresses said that "poverty and backwardness must be eliminated." The political report of the Fifth Congress stated that "our country's economy is charaterized in general by small-scale production" and "we are too conservative and slow-moving" (Proceedings of the Fifth Congress, Volume 1, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, pp 36, 37). "Dogmatism, dictatorial behavior, and the feudal family system are still prevalent in the party and state apparatus" (ibid, p 55).

After reviewing the implementation of the resolution of the Fourth Party Congress, the Political Report of the Fifth Congress pointed out the reasons for the achievements and difficulties and the strengths and weaknesses. "A major question has arisen: Why hasn't the correct line put forth by the Fourth Congress achieved economic results, which is something that the country needs and has the capabilities to permit" (ibid, vol 2, p 11). The draft political report of the Sixth Congress states that "we have not yet hit the target of stabilizing the socioeconomic situation and stabilizing the lives of the people as mentioned at the Fifth Congress." What is the reason for this?

Of the various objective and subjective reasons, the party finally realized that "we are very conservative and slow-moving" (ibid, vol 2, p 14). The draft political report of the Sixth Congress affirms that the "subjective reasons are the primary reasons." And in this draft report, it is not difficult to find words that refer to feudal remnants, particularly concerning behavior and thinking. This includes "dogmatism," "feudal family system," "lack of democracy," "bureaucratic centralism," "local dispersion," "conservatism and slowness," "feudal hierarchy," and "class viewpoint."

It's time that we be honest about this and state frankly that feudal thinking and behavior among cadres at all echelons, particularly those in positions of leadership, has inhibited economic and social development and greatly harmed the country. President Ho called the feudal family system, conservatism, and dogmatism "enemies within." Lenin concluded that "if there is anything that can defeat us, it is these things."

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NEED FOR PARTY POLICY IMPLEMENTATION, FAIR TREATMENT OF POPULACE

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 6 Sep 86 pp 1, 4

[Opinions To Contribute to the Party Congress column by Le Van Nam, Tien Giang: "Treet Each Person Justly"]

[Text] Just after the country won independence and was unified, the majority of the people in the south were unfamiliar with socialism. Because during the years that the people were oppressed by the enemy, they were subjected to poisonous psychological arguments and so they were worried and afraid. The party and state understood the people. They pointed out the distortions of the enemy and helped the people gain confidence in the new social system. The party and state issued many humane and just policies on transforming society, the economy, and culture. The people supported these policies and responded well. Many localities, cities, and provinces implemented the policies correctly, bringing many practical benefits to the people. But in a number of remote localities, the cadres had only a limited understanding of the policies, and they were in too great a hurry to implement the policies and positions. As a result, the masses, who were already worried and afraid, grew even more alarmed. Some cadres spoke without thinking, which confused the people and caused them to misunderstand the policies of the party and state. In the end, the people had to bear the spiritual and material effects, and many families fell into a terrible situation. In putting forth decisions, were the decisions put forth in a rush because the bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies mechanism--the root of which is commandism--failed to stay in close touch with the lives of the masses and just followed the reports instead?

In November 1981, the Council of Ministers issued an order giving citizens the right to make complaints against state organizations that have violated party policies. The order stated that each organization is responsible for handling these matters, including issuing warnings to and disciplining any place that intentionally violates this order. People who had been treated unjustly welcomed this order. This showed that the party understood the feelings of the people. And it manifested the superiority of the socialist system. But what is the reality? Some localities have implemented the order seriously, but many places continue to disregard it. People who send petitions to agencies receive only a notice of receipt or they hear nothing further about their petition. Sometimes the matter drags on for 4-5 years without being resolved. The law states that if the agency does not resolve the matter, the person has the right to submit a petition to a higher echelon (province, city) or even to a ministry at the central echelon. Finally, when the agencies send the request to the localities, some places take appropirate action, but others continue to do nothing. As a result, the people involved are attacked in retaliation. To my knowledge, agencies that have violated this law have never been disciplined as stipulated in the law. Thus, I would like to propose that the party take the following action:

1. The party should regularly inspect and give more attention to the remote areas that have not been illuminated by the party's justice during the past 10 years.

2. The policies issued by the party and state are like laws. No organization or locality can intentionally act contrary to the policies, which would harm the work and reduce the people's confidence in the party. Any agency or locality that commits a violation must be suitably disciplined as stipulated by the criminal code and constitution.

3. When people send a petition to an agency or locality, that place must handle the matter in a suitable and timely manner as stipulated by the law.

4. If people send a petition to a higher echelon (city, province, or central echelon), those agencies must send virtuous and capable cadres to conduct an investigation at the place concerned. They must talk with the masses who know the facts and listen to the opinions of the people in order to have measures to solve the problem once and for all.

5. Cadres and party members who have abused their position and powers, used the name of the party for their own purposes, spoken without thinking, damaged the reputation of the party and state, or harmed the people must be dealt with resolutely.

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DRAFT OF SRV MARRIAGE, FAMILY LAW REVEALED

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 30 Jul 86 pp 1-3

[Article: "The Marriage and Family Law (Draft)"]

[Text] The family is the cell of society. Good families make a good society. A good society makes families better. Within the socialist family, the wife and husband are equals who love each other, who help each other to make progress, who actively participate in building socialism and defending the fatherland and work together to raise their children to be productive citizens for society.

Incorporating and developing upon the 1959 Marriage and Family Law, in order to continue to build and strengthen the socialist family, maintain and develop upon the fine customs and habits of the nation, abolish backward customs and the vestiges of feudal marriage and family practices and combat the influences of bourgeois marriage and family practices;

And on the basis of Article 63, Article 64 and Article 65 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam;

This law defines the marriage and family policy.

Chapter I

General Provisions

Article 1

The state guarantees the implementation of a marriage system in which marriages are voluntary and progressive, are a partnership of one wife and one husband, who are equals, and which has the purpose of establishing democratic, harmonious, happy and stable families.

Marriages between citizens of Vietnam of different ethnic groups and religions are respected and protected.

Article 2

Wife and husband have the obligation of practicing family planning.

Parents have the obligation of raising children to be productive citizens for society.

Children have the obligations of respecting, caring for and supporting their parents.

Article 3

The state and society protect mothers and children and assist mothers in properly fulfilling the noble function of a mother.

Article 4

Early marriages, forced marriages, the payment of a dowry as part of the wedding ceremony, impeding voluntary, progressive marriages and coercing a divorce are prohibited.

A persons who is already married is prohibited from marrying or living as husband and wife with someone else.

Maltreating or abusing a father, mother, wife, husband or child are prohibited.

Chapter II

Marriage

Article 5

Only males 20 years of age or older and females 18 years of age or older may marry.

Article 6

The decision to marry must be made voluntarily by the man and the woman without either pressuring the other or anyone else coercing them to marry or impeding them from marrying.

Article 7

A marriage is not permitted in the following cases:

a) By someone who is already married;

b) By someone who is afflicted with a mental illness and is not conscious of his or her behavior; by someone who is afflicted with venereal disease;

c) Between persons who are direct blood relatives; between brothers and sisters of the same parents, of the same father but a different mother or of the same mother but a different father; and between different persons in the family who are not at least three times removed. Custom and habits apply in the case of a marriage between persons who are at least three times removed.

d) Between a father or mother and his or her own child.

Article 8

A marriage must be recognized by the people's committee of the village, subward or town where one of the two persons being married resides and must be recorded in the marriage book in the ceremony stipulated by the state.

The marriage of citizens of Vietnam living overseas must be recognized by a consulate of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

No other marriage ceremony is legally valid.

Article 9

A marriage that violates Article 5, Article 6 or Article 7 of this law is a violation of the law. When one or both parties marry illegally, when a wife or husband or a child of someone who is married marries another person, the People's Organ of Control, the Vietnam Women's Union, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the Vietnam Trade Union have the authority to ask the People's Court to nullify the illegal marriage.

The property of persons whose marriage is anulled is settled in accordance with the following principles: each person retains his or her personal property and common property is divided on the basis of the amount contributed by each.

The interests of children are handled in the same way as they are in the case of a lawful marriage that ends in divorce.

Chapter III

The Rights and Obligations of Wife and Husband

Article 10

Wife and husband have equal obligations and rights in every aspect of the family.

Article 11

Wife and husband have the obligations to be faithful to each other, to respect, care for and help each other to make progress and practice planned parenthood together.

The husband has the obligation of creating the conditions for the wife to properly fulfill the function of a mother.

Article 12

The wife and the husband have the right to freely select a legitimate occupation and participate in political, economic, cultural and social work.

Article 13

The place of residence of the wife and husband is selected by the wife and husband.

Article 14

The common property of the wife and husband consists of the property created by the wife or the husband, the income from their occupations and other lawful income of the wife and husband during the period of their marriage and property given as a common gift to or inherited in common by the wife and husband.

Common property is used to meet the common needs of the family.

Article 15

Wife and husband have equal rights and obligations regarding common property. Purchasing, selling, trading, giving, loaning, borrowing or other transactions related to property of large value must be agreed upon by wife and husband.

Article 16

In the case of property owned by the wife or the husband prior to their marriage and property given as a gift to or inherited by one or the other during the period of their marriage, the person who owns the property has the right to decide whether or not to incorporate it in the couple's common property.

Article 17

When one of the spouses dies before the other and if it is necessary for the property of the couple to be divided, this property is divided in accordance with Article 43 of this law.

Wife and husband have equal property inheritance rights.

Article 18

If a legitimate need arises while the marriage is still in effect, the common property of the wife and husband can be divided in accordance with Article 43 of this law.

Chapter IV

The Obligations and Rights of Parents and Children

Article 19

Parents have the obligations of loving, rearing and teaching their children and concerning themselves with the education and the wholesome physical, intellectual and ethical development of their children.

Parents may not discriminate against any of their children.

Parents must set a good example for their children in every respect and closely coordinate with the school and social organizations in the education of their children.

Article 20

Parents have the obligation of raising a child who no longer a minor but is unable to work to support himself or herself.

Article 21

Children have equal obligations and rights within the family.

Children have the obligations of respecting, caring for and supporting their parents and listening to their parents' advice.

Article 22

A child who is no longer a minor but still lives with his or her parents has the rights to select an occupation and participate in political, economic, cultural and social work.

Article 23

Children have personal property rights.

Children 16 years of age or older who still live with their parents have the obligation of supporting the common life of the family and must contribute to the needs of the family if they earn an income.

Article 24

Parents represent children who are minors before the law.

Parents manage the property of children who are minors.

Article 25

Parents are responsible for compensating for damages caused by a violation of the law by a child less than 16 years of age. If the parents are unable to pay damages but the child owns property, this property shall be taken to pay the damages.

A child 16 years of age or older is responsible for paying damages caused by his or her criminal behavior from his or her personal property. If this property is not sufficient to pay the damages in full, the parents must pay the remainder. If the child has no personal property, the parents must pay the damages in full.

Article 26

A mother or father who is convicted of one of the crimes against the life, health or dignity of a minor or who seriously maltreats or abuses a minor can be prevented by a decision of the People's Court from retaining custody or teaching the child, from managing the property of the child or from representing the child for a period of 1 to 5 years. In the case of a person who rectifies this wrong, the People's Court can reduce the length of this period.

The father or mother mentioned above must continue to contribute to the cost of raising the child.

Article 27

Grandfather and grandmother have the obligations of rearing and teaching a grandchild who is a minor if the grandchild's parents are no longer alive. A grandchild who is a youth has the obligation of supporting his or her grandparents if the grandparents' children are no longer alive. Blood brothers and sisters have the obligation of helping one another if their parents are no longer alive.

Chapter V

Determining Paternity and Maternity

Article 28

A child born or conceived by the wife during the marriage is the common child of the wife and husband. In the case of a request to recertify this matter, other evidence is needed.

Article 29

A person who is declared to be the father or the mother of a child can request that the child be declared as not belonging to them.

Article 30

The acceptance by father and mother of an extra-marital child must be recognized and recorded in the births registration book by the village, subward or town people's committee at the place where the child resides.

Article 31

An extra-marital child has the right to request acceptance by his or her mother and father, including in the case of a mother and father who have died.

The mother, father or guardian has the right to request that they be declared the mother or father of an extra-marital child who is a minor.

The People's Organ of Control, the Vietnam Women's Union, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the Vietnam Trade Union have the right to request the establishment of the paternity or maternity of an extra-marital child who is a minor.

Article 32

An extra-marital child who is accepted by his father or mother or whose father and mother are forced by the People's Court to accept him has the same rights and obligations as a child born within the marriage.

Article 33

Disputes over the acceptance of a child, over the acceptance of paternity or maternity shall be settled by the People's Court at the place of the child's permanent residence.

Chapter VI

Adoption

Article 34

The purposes of adoption are to build a close emotional bond between the adoptive parents and the adopted child in parent and child relations and insure that adopted minors are reared, cared for and educated well.

The parental and child obligations and rights that apply to the adoptive parent and the adopted child are defined in Articles 19 through 25 of this law.

Article 35

Only a person less than 16 years of age may be adopted. A person over 16 years of age may be adopted if he is a war invalid or disabled and the person adopting him is an elderly person or someone who lives alone.

To adopt someone, a person must be 20 years of age or older.

Article 36

An adoption must have the agreement of the adopting wife and husband and the natural parents or guardian of a minor being adopted. If the child being adopted is 9 years of age or older, the consent of the child is also required.

Article 37

An adoption must be recognized and recorded in the census registration book by the village, subward or town people's committee at the place where the person making the adoption or the person being adopted permanently resides.

Article 38

The state and society encourage the adoption of orphans.

Adopted children of war dead continue to be eligible for all the benefits of children of war dead.

Article 39

An adoption can be terminated in the following cases:

a) When the adoptive parent is convicted of one of the crimes against the life, health and dignity of an adopted child or seriously maltreats or abuses an adopted child.

b) When the adopted child is convicted of one of the crimes cited in Point a) of this article against the person who adopted him or against the father, mother, grandfather or grandmother of this person.

The termination of an adoption is decided by the People's Court in accordance with a request by the adoptive parent or the adopted person. In the case of an adopted minor, the natural parents or guardian of the minor or the People's Organ of Control, the Vietnam Women's Union, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union or the Vietnam Trade Union have the right to request the termination of an adoption.

Chapter VII

Divorce

Article 40

When the wife or husband or wife and husband file for a divorce, the People's Court shall conduct an investigation and attempt reconciliation.

In the case of both wife and husband seeking a divorce, the People's Court shall, if attempts at reconciliation are unsuccessful and if the court deems that the two parties truly want a divorce of their own free will, grant a divorce.

In the case of the wife or husband opposing a divorce and if attempts at reconciliation are unsuccessful, the People's Court shall hold a trial. If it is deemed that the situation is serious, that their life together cannot continue on a long-term basis and that the purposes of the marriage are not being fulfilled, the People's Court shall grant a divorce.

Article 41

In the case of a wife who is pregnant, the husband can only file for divorce 1 year after she gives birth. This restriction does not apply to a wife who is seeking a divorce.

Article 42

A settlement may not be demanded when seeking a divorce.

Article 43

The common property of the wife and husband is divided on the basis of the efforts contributed by each to building, maintaining and developing common property, the condition of property and the specific situation of the family. Work within the household is considered productive work.

When dividing common property, it is necessary to protect the interests of the wife and children who are minors and protect production and occupational interests.

Article 44

If, when they divorce, the party with lesser income requests a support allowance, the other party must pay support to the best of his or her ability.

The amount of support paid and the time when payments are made are to be determined through agreement reached between the two parties. If the two parties fail to reach an agreement, the People's Court shall decide.

When circumstances change, the person receiving support or the person paying support can request that the amount of support being paid and the time when payments are made be changed. A person receiving support who marries another person is no longer eligible to receive support.

Article 45

A divorced wife and husband continue to have the same obligations and rights regarding the children of their marriage.

Article 46

When there is a divorce, to whom minors are awarded to be cared for, reared and educated must be based on the overall interests of the children. In principle, nursing children are awarded to their mothers for custody.

The person who does not have custody of the children has the obligations and rights to visit and care for the children and must contribute to the cost of raising and educating them. If these contributions are delayed or evaded, the People's Court shall decided to deduct them from income and require the full payment of unpaid costs.

In the interest of the children and when necessary, custody of the children or the level of contribution to the cost of raising and educating the children can be changed.

Chapter VIII

The Guardian System

Article 47

The guardian system is implemented in cases in which it is necessary to guarantee the care and education and protect the interests of minors whose parents have died or whose parents, although still alive, are unable to perform these tasks.

Article 48

Parents can appoint a guardian for a minor. If parents cannot appoint a guardian, the next of kin can appoint a guardian for this person. The appointment of a guardian must be recognized by the village, subward or town people's committee.

If the parents or next of kin cannot appoint a guardian, a state agency with this function or a social organization can undertake the guardianship of a minor.

Article 49

A citizen who serves as a guardian must meet the following conditions:

a) Be 21 years of age or older;

b) Be mentally competent;

c) Possess good ethics and have the real conditions needed to serve as a guardian.

Article 50

A citizen or organization serving as a guardian has the following tasks and authority:

a) To care for and educate the ward;

b) To manage the property of the ward;

c) To represent the ward and protect the ward's interests.

Article 51

A citizen who serves as a guardian is under the supervision of the village, subward or town people's committee from the standpoint of his or work as guardian.

The next of kin of a ward who is a minor, the People's Organ of Control, the Vietnam Women's Union, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the Vietnam Trade Union have the right to request that the village, subward or town people's committee replace a guardian if this person seriously violates the tasks and authority he or she has been assigned. The appointment of another guardian must be made in accordance with the provisions set forth in Article 48 of this law.

A citizen serving as a guardian can request that another guardian be appointed in his place if he is no longer able to serve as guardian.

Article 52

Guardianship terminates when the minor is returned to his parents, is adopted or becomes 18 years of age.

Chapter IX

The Marriage and Family Relations Between Citizens of Vietnam and Foreigners

Article 53

A citizen of Vietnam who marries a foreigner must comply with Article 5, Article 6 and Article 7 of this law and the other provisions of the law of Vietnam.

If the marriage between a citizen of Vietnam and a foreigner takes place in Vietnam, the foreigner must comply with the provisions of this law. The procedures for recognizing the marriage and recording it in the marriage book are stipulated by the Council of Ministers.

Article 54

Matters pertaining to the relations between wife and husband, the relations between parents and children, the annulment of a marriage, divorce, adoption and guardianship as they pertain to a marriage between a citizen of Vietnam and a foreigner are regulated separately.

Article 55

In the case of mutual judicial and legal agreements on marriage and the family between Vietnam and foreign countries, the provisions of these agreements apply.

Chapter X

Final Clauses

Article 56

As regards the ethnic minorities, the Council of State will adopt suitable regulations based on this law and the specific situation.

Article 57

The Council of Ministers, the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Organ of Control have the responsibility of guiding the enforcement of this law within the scope of their function.

The Vietnam Fatherland Front, the Vietnam Women's Union, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the Vietnam Confederation of Trade Unions are responsible for teaching and campaigning among the people for the strict implementation of this law.

Article 58

This law supercedes the 1959 Marriage and Family Law.

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NEED TO INCREASE FERTILIZER OUTPUT, IMPROVE QUALITY DISCUSSED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 6 Sep 86 p 1

[Opinions To Contribute to the Party Congress Column by Tran Phu, Southern Fertilizer Corporation: "Why Is the Output of Fertilizer so Low?"]

[Text] "First is water, second is fertilizer, third is hard work, and fourth is varieties." That is a concise statement based on the realities of our farmers. We have a widespread irrigation and drainage system, agriculture has produced many high-yielding varieties, and our people have a tradition of diligent and creative labor. Here, I want to discuss fertilizer, a problem that is rather difficult to solve and that is very important in the national economy. Everyone knows that agriculture accounts for approximately 70 percent of the national economy. In this, Vietnamese rice holds a leading position. Because of this, fertilizer is an essential requirement both now and in the future. The Red River has greater quantities of fertilizer and a number of plants, such as the Van Dien Phosphate Fertilizer Plant, the Lam Thao Superphosphate Fertilizer Plant, the Ha Bac Nitrate Fertilizer Plant, and the Nghe Tinh Phosphate Fertilizer Plant. What about the provinces in the south? In the municipal green belt and the Mekong Delta, the need for fertilizer is a very worrisome matter. Except for the Southern Fertilizer Corporation, the other fertilizer enterprises are very small, and the production belts are all operated manually. As a result, output and quality are low and do not satisfy the essential requirements. Thus, fertilizer imports consume much foreign currency. What is the reason for this situation? First of all, it must be realized that before liberation, these enterprises were all operated by private individuals. The equipment and machinery was not synchronized. These were just screens in making profits from imported goods. After liberation, the enterprises were transformed in order to put them into production. The people have great confidence in a number of the new types of goods being produced. But the equipment and machinery is old, production is manual production, there are few technical cadres, and raw materials are becoming more and more scarce. Thus, for the farmers, fertilizer is a problem that must be solved. I have a few ideas that I would like to share:

The Municipal People's Committee and the Central Committee must give priority to providing foreign currency so that units can import production equipment and raw materials to support the production of fertilizer.

The units must be allowed to exchange goods (export goods) in order to export goods. Export rights must be expanded in order to obtain foreign currency to support production.

The Science and Technology Committee must conduct studies to improve the technical regulations and conduct research on new products and new fertilizers suited to the Mekong River Delta.

Additional skilled technical cadres must be trained for the fertilizer sector.

Only if these things are done will fertilizer output and quality satisfy the requirements of the farmers. If these things are done, fertilizer will no longer be a difficult problem to solve.

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INFORMATION ON VIETNAMESE PERSONALITIES

[The following information on Vietnamese personalities has been extracted from Vietnamese-language sources published in Hanoi, unless otherwise indicated. Asterisked job title indicates that this is the first known press reference to this individual functioning in this capacity.]

Ta Quang Bửu [TAJ QUANG BUWUR], Professor, deceased

Born in 1910 at Nam Hoanh Village, Nam Dan District, Nghe Tinh Province; member of the CPV; former Minister of National Defense; former Head of the State Science Commission; former Minister of Higher and Vocational Education; former Vice Chairman of the Vietnam Commission in Defense of World Peace; Vice Chairman of the Vietnam-Soviet Friendship Association; member of the first through sixth National Assemblies session; he died following an illness on 21 August 1986 at the Vietnam-Soviet Hospital. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 23 Aug 86 p 1)

Nguyễn Văn Cáp [NGUYEENX VAWN CAPS]

Deputy Director of Hai Phong Public Security Office; CPV Secretary of Hai Phong Port; his name was mentioned in an article concerning Hai Phong Port. (Hanoi GIAO THONG VAN TAI 24 Jul 86 p 5)

Nguyễn Huy Chương [NGUYEENX HUY CHUWOWNG], Lieutenant General

His article on the Party-Political Task was in the cited source. (TAP CHI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN Aug 86 pp 40-49)

Nguyễn Ahn Dũng [NGUYEENX ANH ZUNGX], alias Nguyen Van Dinh [NGUYEENX VAWN DINHJ], Colonel, deceased

Born in 1922 at Dieu Hoa Village, Chau Thanh District, Tien Giang Province; cadre of the 9th Military Region; member of the CPV; he died following an illness on 19 June 1986 at the Tien Giang Hospital. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 24 Jun 86 p 4)

Nguyễn Văn Gần [NGUYEENX VAWN GAANF], Colonel, deceased

Born in 1929 at Hanh Tin Village, Nghia Hanh District, Nghia Binh Province; member of the 333rd Group of the 5th Military Region; member of the CPV; he died following an illness on 24 August 1986 at the 7th Military Hospital of the 3rd Military Region. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 26 Aug 86 p 4)

Phạm Minh Hạc [PHAMJ MINH HACJ]

Vice Minister of Education; recently he wrote an article about the Year of Peace 1986. (Hanoi GIAO VIEN HNAN DAN 14 Jul 86 p)

Trần Quốc Hoàn [TRAANF QUOOCS HOANF], deceased

Born in 1916 at Nam Trung Village, Nam Dan District, Nghe Tinh Province; member of the CPV Central Committee; Head of the Proselytizing and Front Department of the Central Committee; former member of the Political Bureau of the CPV Central Committee; former member of the Secretariat of the CPV Central Committee; former Minister of Interior; he died following an illness of 3 September 1986 at the 108th Military Hospital. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 5 Sep 86 p 1)

Vũ Hùng [VUX HUNGF], Colonel, deceased

Born in 1931 at Cu Da Village, Thanh Oai District, Ha Son Binh Province; cadre of the General Staff; member of the CPV; he died following an illness on 22 August 1986 at the 108th Military Hospital. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 23 Aug 86 p 4)

Phạm Khai [PHAMJ KHAI]

Minister of Electric Power; Deputy Head of Subcommittee 1 of the Government Energy Committee; his article on electric energy and the energy demands of the country appeared in the cited source. (Hanoi NHAN DAN 13 Sep 86 p 3)

Trần Văn Khôi [TRAANF VAWN KHOOI], Colonel, deceased

Born in 1925 at Chau Khe Village, Tien Son District, Ha Bac Province; former Chief of the Military Editorial Office of the Armed Force newspaper QUAN DOI NHAN DAN; member of the CPV; member of the Vietnam Journalist Association; he died following an illness on 27 August 1986 at the 108th Military Hospital. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 28 Aug 86 p 4)

Phạm Văn Kiết [PHAMJ VAWN KIEETS]

Deputy Director of the Propaganda and Training Department of the CPV Central Committee; recently he was listed as member of the Funeral Committee for the late Tran Quoc Hoan. (NHAN DAN 5 Sep 86 p 1)

Nguyễn Văn Linh [NGUYEENX VAWN LINH]

Member of the Political Bureau of the CPV Central Committee; *Standing Member of the Secretariat of the CPV Central Committee; recently he was listed as Chairman of the Funeral Committee for the late Tran Quoc Hoan. (NHAN DAN 5 Sep 86 p 1)

Châu Phi Long [CHAAU PHI LONG], Colonel, deceased

Born in 1932 at Long My Village, Long Dat District, Dong Nai Province; cadre of the 7th Military Region; member of the CPV; he died following an illness on 16 August 1986 at the 175th Military Hospital. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 24 Aug 86 p 4)

Hoàng Lương [HOANGF LUWOWNG]

SRV Ambassador to Cuba; on 21 August 1986 he was present at the signing of a commodity exchange agreement for 1986 between Vietnam and Cuba in Havana. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 28 Aug 86 p 4)

Lưu Thị Phương Mai [LUWU THIJ PHUWOWNG MAI]

Vice Minister of Food Industry; on 19 January 1985, she attended the 10th Conference of the Vietnam-USSR Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation. (HANOI MOI 23 Jan 85 p 1)

Hoàng Phùng Ngọc [HOANGF PHUNGF NGOCJ], *Colonel

His article "Stockpile at the Defensive Line" was in the cited source. (TAP CHI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN Aug 86 pp 50-58)

Phan Trọng Quang [PHAN TRONGJ QUANG], Colonel, deceased

Born in 1926 at Phuc Tho Village, Tien Son District, Ha Bac Province; former Commander of a Division of the 12th Corps [Binh Doan]; member of the CPV; he died following an illness on 22 August 1986 at the 108th Military Hospital. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 24 Aug 86 p 4)

Đoàn Thế Quốc [DOANF THEES QUOOCS], Lt Colonel

Deputy Commander of Hai Phong Harbor Security Police; his name was mentioned in an article concerning Hai Phong Port. (Hanoi GIAO THONG VAN TAI 24 Jul 86 p 5)

Trần Quyết [TRAANF QUYEETS]

Member of the CPV Central Committee; Vice Minister of Interior; recently he was listed as member of the Funeral Committee for the late Tran Quoc Hoan. (NHAN DAN 5 Sep 86 p 1)

Lưu Quý Tân [LUWU QUYS TAAN]

*SRV Ambassador to Sweden; on 16 May 1986 he was present at the reception by Swedish Prime Minister to welcome the Vietnamese delegation visiting Sweden. (VIETNAM COURIER Jul 86 p 12)

Đinh Toàn [DINH TOANF], alias Nguyen Viet Si [NGUYEENX VIEETJ SIX], Colonel, deceased

Born in 1926 at Tan Hoi Village, Dan Phuong District, Hanoi; member of the CPV; former member of the General Staff Education Management Department; retired; he died on 17 August 1986 at the 108th Military Hospital. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 19 Aug 86 p 4)

Lê Ngọc Toàn [LEE NGOCJ TOANF], *Colonel

His article on the anti-sabotage task at the Z.153 Factory was in the cited source. (TAP CHI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN Aug 86 pp 64-70)

Quang Trung [QUANG TRUNG] alias Quang Van Anh [QUANGF VAWN ANH], Colonel, deceased

Born in 1926 at Bo Hamlet, Chieng An Village, Son La City, Son La Province; Standing member of the Provincial CPV Committee and Commander of the Military Headquarters, Son La Province; member of the 7th National Assembly; he died on 27 August 1986 at the 103rd Military Hospital. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 29 Aug 86 p 4)

Hà Xuân Trường [HAF ZUAAN TRUWOWNGF]

Alternate member of the CPV Central Committee; Chairman of the Central Committee Culture Department; recently he attended the 90th birthday anniversary of the late writer Hoang Ngoc Phach. (NHAN DAN 23 Aug 86 p 2)

Nguyễn Đức Tư [NGUYEENX DUWCS TUW], *Colonel

His article "Improving the Quality of Reserve Officers Training" was in the cited source. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 5 Sep 86 p 2)

Mạc Đình Vịnh [MACJ DINHF VINHJ], *Major General

His article "Enhance the Quality of Training at Army Officer School 2" was in the cited source. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 25 Aug 86 p 2)

Hoàng Văn Xiêm [HOANGF VAWN XIEEM] also known as Hoang Van Thai [HOANGF VAWN THAIS], Senior General, deceased

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